



THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY

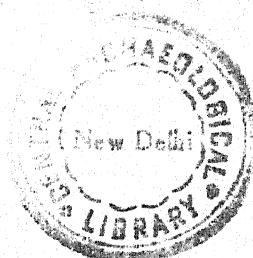
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Vol. XVIII

1932



891.05
J.B.R.S.



PATNA

Published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

Printed by P. Knight, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta

Price

Rs. 20

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MARCH, 1932.

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[PART I.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda.

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.).

Rgveda X. 85, 8; and X. 114, 3 refer to *Opaśa* and *Kaparda*, as types of head-dresses, specially for females. The goddesses Sinivālī is described as *svaupaśā* in Tait. Sam. iv. 1, 5, 3; Maitr. Sam. ii. 7, 5; Vaj. Sam. xi. 56:—

Sinivālī sukapardā sukurirā saupaśā (iv. i, 5, 3 Tait. Sam.) Av. ix. 3, 8 (under *akṣu*) and Rv. x. 173, 6; viii. 14, 5; and ix. 71, 1 also refer to *opaśa*. It continues in later literature in Tānd. Br. iv. 1, 1; and xiii, 4, 3.

The generally accepted sense is ‘having ornamental plaits or braids of hair’, either genuine¹ or false,² mostly worn by women³ but sometimes by men also.⁴

Kaparda also refers to the same Vedic custom of wearing the hair in braids or plaits. In the passage quoted above the goddesses Sinivālī is described as *sukapardā*, ‘wearing beautiful braids’. The maiden’s fastidiousness for her braids are referred to in Rv. x. 114, 3 *catus-kapardā*, ‘arranged in four plaits’. Men showed their appreciation by imitation, e.g., Rudra (Rv. i. 114, 1, 5; Vaj. Sam. xvi. 10, 29, 43, 48, 59), and

¹ Macdonell & Keith, *Ved. Index*, vol. i, p. 135.

² Zimmer, *Alt. Leb.*, p. 264.

³ Av. vi. 138, 1, 2.

⁴ Rv. i. 173, 6.

Pūṣan (Rv. vi. 55, 2; ix. 67, 11). Mortals followed; the Vasiṣthas wore their plait on the right, *dakṣinatas-kaparda* (Rv. vii. 33, 1). Lesser men affect it still, only modestly modified in its passage from classical sages to vernacular sadhus.

Kumba (Av. vi. 138, 3), and *Kurira* (Rv. x. 85, 8; Av. vi. 138, 3; cf. the description of Siniṇīlī above as *su-kurirā*) are other methods of doing the hair.¹

As might have been expected, subjective interpretation without any objective archæological evidence, strayed from the matter-of-fact into the region of fancy. Geldner² would have it as 'horn', later a head-gear; hardly an ornament that! Indian tradition³ firmly held to the head-dress, 'a female adornment connected with the dressing of the hair'.

As often happens, Indian tradition is once more borne out by archæological discoveries, this time in the remains of a prehistoric civilization in the Gangetic valley, at Buxar.⁴

The accompanying plate reproduces only some of the terra-cotta head-dresses excavated by the present writer at Buxar, in 1926 and 1927. They are now in the Patna Museum. While their exact date as well as the date of the remains of the Indus valley, and of the Rgveda itself, are still subjects of further study, these Buxar finds are beyond doubt the nearest available material for comparison with the Vedic description noted above.

The Vedic passages have been variously interpreted as—Geldner:⁵ 'horn-shaped head-ornament, or diadem'; Caland⁶: 'helmet-shaped', etc.

The Indian commentators are impressed by their extraordinary (*asādhāranam*) prettiness, and often try to describe the details.

The Buxar head-dresses are very elaborate. Two kinds, either of attached stamped rosettes or developed into two high smooth horns like volutes are specially noteworthy.

¹ Plain hair was termed *pulasti*, Vāj. Sam. xvi. 43.

² Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, 131-32.

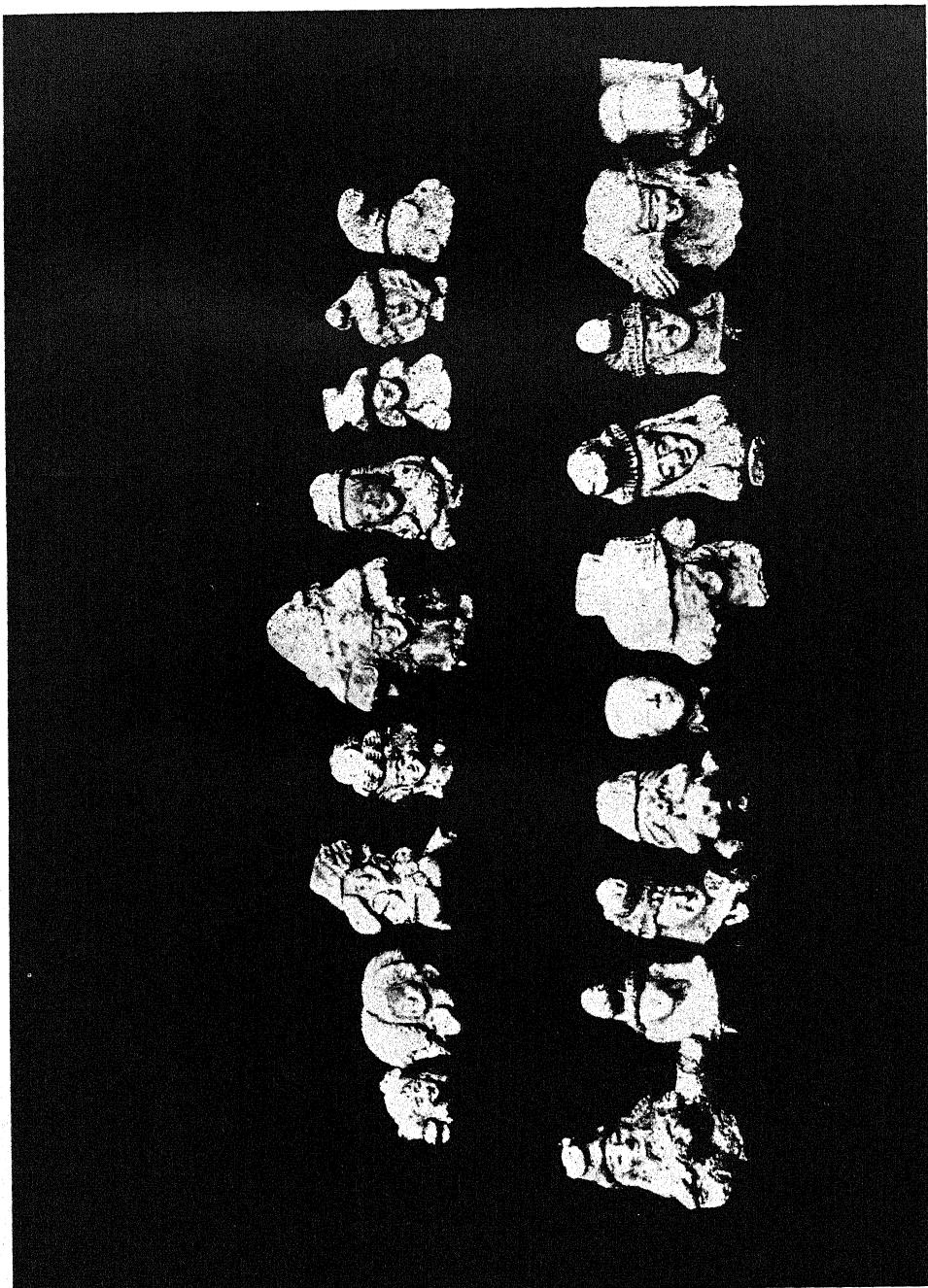
³ Sāyana on Av. vi. 138, 3. *kurirām kesa-jālam kumbam tadābhāranam cha striṇām asādhāranam*.

⁴ J. Bomb. Hist. S., III, pp. 187-91.

⁵ Ved. Stud., I, 130-37.

⁶ Ap. Śraut., 10. 9. 5.

Vedic Opasa and Kaparda.





A closer study of this ample material may identify many of the features that struck the Vedic seers as *asādhārana*, i.e., 'extraordinary'. It would incidentally raise and perhaps to a certain extent elucidate the question of the identity of the wearers.

II.—Girdharpur Pillar Inscription.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

This record is of King Huvishka's reign. It is dated in Kanishka's era, year 28th. Huvishka's predecessor Vāseshka ruled, according to the inscriptions already known to us, upto a part of the 28th year. This is thus a document of Huvishka's first year. The inscription which has not been published before I am reproducing here. This is the first record we know that gives the coin-name *purāṇa* which we know from the Mānava dharma Śāstra (J.B.O.R.S., XVII, 398). It was brought to light in the following manner. Last October when I was going over the Curzon Museum (Muttra), its curator Mr. Vasudeva Agrawala pointed out the pillar to me and showed me his reading of the inscription. I suggested to him to trace the history of the find. Mr. Agrawala has since ascertained its history and communicated it to me which I give below. The date, which I read on the stone, the mention of the *purāṇa* and of the official title *Tikana* which occurs as *Tikina* in the Nālandā plate recently edited and published by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, E.I., (Vol. XX, p. 37), invest the document with importance.

I thank Mr. Agrawala for the impression and the description which I quote below.

"The pillar originated from a well called *Lāl Kuīvā* situated in a field lying between the Chaurāsi Jain temple and the Girdharpur Mound in the Mathurā district. The well is 200 yards due south of the Gobardhan Road, opposite the Chaurāsi Jain temple. It is said that it was extracted from the well eight or nine years ago and was lying on the surface from that time till its deposit in the Mathurā Museum through the efforts of the late Rai Bahadur Pandit Radhakrishna.

"The dimensions are:—Height 6'-9", breadth 11'-8" at base and 11'-5" at a height of 2'-7" from the base; upto that height the pillar is square and beyond that it is octagonal, and thickness 9 inches. There is a groove, 6 inches broad and 4 inches deep, running from top to bottom on the reverse of the inscribed

facing. The pillar which is of red sand-stone common at Mathurā is in a fair state of preservation except the upper portion which is broken and lost."

The script is Brāhmī of the Kushāṇa period and the engraving of letters is perfect. The entire inscription is a model of excellent paleographic art of the period. "It is perfectly preserved except for a small chipping off, $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ in the beginning of the last two lines. The characters vary in size from $\frac{1}{3}''$ to $1''$." They resemble very much the characters on the pedestal of the Vema Takshama statue of the Mathurā Museum (J.B.O.R.S., VI, p. 11).

In the opinion of Mr. Agrawala, the present inscription and the lettering on the pedestal of the seated Buddha No. A 1 of the Museum, are the best specimens of Kushāṇa Brāhmī preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The writing covers a space of $14\cdot5''$ by $11\cdot5''$.

The inscription records a perpetual gift (*ākshaya-nivi dinna*) for the benefit (*punya*) of *Devaputra Shāhi* (king) *Huvishka* and those dear to him and the whole land. It was evidently inscribed at the *Punyaśālā* (Charitable Pavilion) which it mentions. 550 and 550 (1,100) purāṇas were deposited with two guilds, and from the monthly interest (*vridḍhi*) of the funds daily alms (like modern *sadābhart*) were to be given in the form of *sattu* (*saktu*), salt and similar eatables, placed at the door of the *Punyaśālā*, to the helpless (*anādhanām*), hungry and thirsty; and once a month (on the 14th Bright day of the month) one hundred Brahmins were also to be fed.

The value of the purāṇa was sufficiently high to give an income to feed hundred Brahmins every month and to maintain a place to give water and a little *sattu* to the poor passing by throughout the year. It is noteworthy that this gift is in favour of Brahmins and the general public, and is not a Buddhist endowment.

The officer signing and executing the gift was a nobleman, *Tikana Prāchī*, who was son of *Rukamāna*. *Tikana* is a Turki title denoting a 'prince of the blood' (E.I., Vol. XX, p. 41 where it is spelt as *Tikina*). The officer bears the description 'Vakana-pati' which is also found affixed (as *Barkanapati*) to the

name of the officer mentioned on the statue of Vema or Vama (J.B.O.R.S., VI, p. 12). The officer (evidently the Governor of Mathurā) is also called *Kharāsalera-pati*. It seems that the *Punyasālā* (which was like a modern *Dharmaśālā*) was erected by Prāchi-Tikana (*ayam punyasālā Prāchī-Tikanasya*). It was endowed for maintenance, in the name of his Sovereign, in the first year of his reign, evidently marking his accession after the fashion of Hindu Kings.

I give below Mr. Agrawala's reading of the text who has had the advantage of consulting the stone.

TEXT

- Line 1 सिद्धं ३ संवत्सरे २० च गुरुप्यि दिवसे १ अयं पुण्य
 I. 2 शाला प्राचितौकनस रकमानपुच्छेण खरासले
 I. 3 र पतिन वकनपतिना अक्षयनीवि दिन्न गुतो वद्दे
 I. 4 तो मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य चातुर्दशी पुण्यशाला
 I. 5 यं ब्राह्मणश्चतं परिविषितयं दिवसे दिवसे
 I. 6 च पुण्यश्लाघे दारमूले धारिष्ये साद्यं सक्षनां चा
 I. 7 ठका ३ लवुण प्रस्था १ शकु प्रस्था १ हरितकलापक
 I. 8 घटक ३ मस्क ५ एतं अनाधनां क्षतेन दत्य
 I. 9 वभक्षितान पिबसितानं य च तु पुण्य तं देवपुच्छस्य
 I. 10 षाहिस्य ऊविष्कस्य येषा च देवपुचो प्रियः तेषामपि पुण्य
 I. 11 भवतु सर्वायि च पृथिवीये पुण्य भवतु आक्षयनिवि दिन्न
 I. 12 ... क श्रेष्ठौये पुण्यश्चत ५०० ५० समितकर श्रेष्ठौ
 I. 13 ... पुण्यश्चत ५०० ५०

१ श्रीमद्भगवत्-यजु
२ गोप्यत्तमाणु
३ विष्वापनेष्टुपूर्व
४ देवतास्तद्युक्ते ४३
५ उपायेष्टुपूर्व
६ विष्वापनेष्टुपूर्व
७ एव देवतास्तद्युक्ते ४३
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१० विष्वापनेष्टुपूर्व
११ विष्वापनेष्टुपूर्व
१२ विष्वापनेष्टुपूर्व
१३ विष्वापनेष्टुपूर्व
१४ विष्वापनेष्टुपूर्व

Girdharpur Pillar inscription of the year 28th, Huvishka's reign.

J. B. O. R. S., 1932.



III.—Śaka-Śatavāhana Problems.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

On the publications of my paper ‘*Problems of Śaka-Śatavāhana History*’ (J.B.O.R.S., XVI. 227 ff.) some gentlemen have written to me asking for my view on the identification of the *Sandanes* and *Mambarus* of the Periplus (§ 52, § 41). I submit below my own opinion for consideration by scholars.

(i) *Sandanes*.

This name has been identified with *Sundara* (Śātakarnī) (Śatavāhana) of the Purāṇas. To me it appears to represent *Sunandana* of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Prakrit form *Sunadana* seems to be *Sandanes*. Other Purāṇas give *Sundara* in its place, which might have been another name of the same king. I would give preference to the form as found in the Bhāgavata. A manuscript of the *Brahmānda Purāṇa* from Orissa which I have consulted gives the form *Sunanda*.

Writing about the port Kalyāṇa (near Bombay) the author of the Periplus says that this city of Saraganus became in the time of the elder Saraganus a lawful market town,

‘but since it came into the possession of Sandanes the port is much obstructed and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard’.—(Schoff’s translation).

Saraganus is, as already pointed by scholars, Śātakarnī. The form is derived from *Sūdakanna*. It is evident that before the time of the author of the Periplus there had been at least two Śātakarnis—‘the elder’ Śātakarnī and the later Śātakarnī, that both these sovereigns had passed away before the Periplus was written, and that the present king or the recent king was Sandanes. These were kings of Dakshināpatha or *Dachinabades* in the language of the Periplus. (‘Beyond Barygaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south and so this region is called *Dachinabades*’) (ε 50). It may be noticed in passing that the Periplus is using all Prakrit forms

(*Barygaza*=*Bharu-kachcha*, not *Bhrigu-kachcha*; *Dachinabades*=*Dachhināvadha* for ^o*patha*).

Mr. Schoff considers the date of the Periplus to be about 80 A.D. (Letter to V. Smith, *Early History*, 4th ed., p. 245 n.). The date worked out on the basis of my chronology for Sundara or Sunandana comes to be 83-84 A.D. (J.B.O.R.S., XVI. 279) which agrees with the date proposed by Schoff and also by McCrindle (80-89 A.D.). The Purāṇas give only one year to Sunandana-Sundara, which narrows down the time for the date of the Periplus data; had there been a longer period of the reign (we get no coin of this king) we would have had a larger margin for uncertainty.

Now the reference in the Periplus does not show (as supposed by some scholars) that a rival of Sandanes was interfering with Greek shipping in the matter of discharging goods at Kalyāna. On the contrary the emphasis being on the fact that the port having been declared a 'lawful' landing place since the time of the elder Sātakarni, the complaint seems to be that Sandanes was unjustly closing it to the Greeks by his officers' occasional diversion of the ships to the other port, evidently his own, viz., Barygaza. The interpretation put on this—as an obstruction by an enemy—seems to be unjustifiable on the text. The elder Sātakarni was evidently Gautamiputra Sātakarni who had conquered Nahapāna and obtained the coast from Bombay to Kathiawad, in or about 58 B.C. The later Saraganus would be Kuntala or Vishamasīla Sātakarni, the conqueror of the Sakas and the predecessor of Sunandana. The author of the Periplus must be talking of only recent history, that is, the history of the port just preceding Sunandana's time. In this connexion it is noteworthy that Ujjain is noted in the Periplus (§ 48) to have been formerly the royal capital. This agrees with the known fact that the Kuntala Sātakarni or Vikramāditya (II) had fixed his capital at Ujjain.

(ii) *Mambarus.*

This name has been changed ('corrected') into *Nambarus* by some scholars and then it has been interpreted as *Nahapāna*. But *Mambarus* can hardly be *Nahapāna* and subsequent

scholars have rightly challenged the interpretation. The Periplus (ε 41) says that from *Ariaca* (the Aryan land) the kingdom of *Mambarus* commenced. It is noteworthy that according to the Periplus (ε 50) *Dakshināpatha* ran down (south) from *Barygaza*. Both *Bharoach* and *Kalyāna* thus evidently belonged to the same kingdom.

The only known king whose name can be reconciled with *Mambarus* is *Mahendra*¹ *Sātavāhana*. He came just before *Kuntala Śātakarnī* whose date I have calculated to be 75 A.D. to 83 A.D., i.e., about 8 years before *Sunandana-Sundara* (J.B.O.R.S., XVI. 279). The author of the Periplus seems to have heard that the kingdom founded by *Mahendra* (d. 75 A.D.) extended up to *Kathiawad* and *Gujarat*. *Ariake* is supposed to represent *Larika* (*Lāta*) of Ptolemy, but Ptolemy also uses *Ariake* though in his time it commenced lower down, *Gujarat* then being under the *Śakas*. *Ariaka* evidently means the country under the Hindus (Aryans) as opposed to *Sindh* which was occupied at the date of the Periplus by the *Śakas*. *Ariaka* may be compared with the 'Āryavarta' of Alberuni (see below). 'All India' began there according to the Periplus, that is, Āryāvarta began there.

(iii) *The Battle of 78 A.D.*

The battle which is dated in 78 A.D. by the Hindus and which ended in the defeat of the *Śakas* by *Vishama-Śila Vikramāditya* or *Vikramāditya II* was supposed by me to have been fought in *Gujarat* on the data of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (J.B.O.R.S., XVI. 299). In this connexion, I had missed a very important authority which supplies the name of the battle-field and fully confirms the conclusion put forward by me about this battle of 78 A.D., and on the identification of this second *Vikramāditya* with the *Sātavāhana* king, and the causes of the war. Alberuni (II. 6) writing about the *Śaka* era says :

¹ This will require corruption of the spelling of one letter only. In Greek MSS. of the first century A.D. *Maendara* could easily be misread as *Mambara*. [I have consulted Father Heras who confirms this.]

'The epoch of the era of Śaka or Śaka-kāla falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya. The here-mentioned Śaka tyrannised over their country between the river Sindh and the ocean, after he had made Āryavarta in the midst of this realm his dwelling place. He interdicted the Hindus from considering and representing themselves as anything but Śakas. Some maintain that he was a Śūdra from the city Al Mansura ; others maintain that he was not a Hindu at all, and that he had come to India from the west. The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karūr, between Multan and the castle of Loni. Now this date became famous, as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant, and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers. They honour the conqueror by adding Śri to his name, so as to say Śri Vikramāditya. Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Śaka, we think that Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his.'

Here it is evident that Alberuni is treating of the Śaka-Śālivāhana era of 78 A.D. and the Śālivāhana king is referred to as Vikramāditya II. The battle-field was at Karūr (Karor or Karorh, 20 miles north-east of Bahawalpur). The Śaka tyranny was described as it is described in the Kathāsaritsāgara. Al Mansura of Alberuni was a town in Sihdh¹; here evidently the Śakas had settled. Alberuni rightly distinguishes this Vikramāditya of 78 A.D. from the Vikramāditya of 58 B.C., i.e., Vikramāditya I.

Is there any material from which we can find the name of the Śaka king defeated and killed by Śālivāhana (the Śātavāhana king) ?

Sir Kap and Amba Kapi Tradition.

General Cunningham has recorded the tradition current all over the Punjab about *Rājā Sir Kap* (ASR; ii, 152-156; AG., p. 139). The tradition is still current. The version which I have heard only differs in that *Sir Kapa* or *Sir Kap* and his brothers were destroyed by Śālivāhana, while Cunningham heard that the deliverer was *Rāsālu* (*Rusālu* in the version supplied to Col. Abbot), son of King Śālivāhana. Col. Abbot has recorded the ballad of *Rusālu* (JASB, 1854, p. 123). The tradition may be summarised as follows :

¹ Elliot, i (*passim*).

Sir Kap—who is associated with a site *Ambā-Kapi* near Lahor as his residence was a great tyrant. *Sir Kap* with his six brothers and sisters (according to one version, demons, *Rakshasas*, according to another, human beings) lived at Manikpur (*Manikyālā*) Udinagar or *Ambā Kapi*—was decapitating the people. *Śālivāhana* or his son *Rājā Rāsālu* or *Rusālu* destroyed them and ‘delivered the people from the tyranny of *Sir Kap*’. The brothers were *Sir Kap*, *Sir Sukh* and *Ambar*, while the sisters were *Kāpi Kalpi*, *Munda*, *Mandehi*.

The tradition means that between the Indus and the Jhelam *Sir Kap* and his brothers were established as rulers and they were great tyrants. *Sir Kap* is no other than *Siri Kapa* or Kadphises and *Ambar* represents *W'ima* or *Wama*; the titles have been converted into ‘Sisters’—*Kāpi*, *Kalpi* (=Kadphises), *Munda* (= *Murunḍa*). *Sir Sukh*, the brother of *W'ima* might be the uncle of Jihonika whose name we have not yet got from inscriptions or coins. The legend refers to the generation of *W'ima* Kadphises. Archaeologists have already pointed out that after *W'ima* Kadphises there was a break-up of the Kushāṇa empire, just before Kanishka, in the time of Jihonika’s father or uncle (Konow, *Kh. I.*, p. 82). It seems that the war of *Śālivāhana* which according to Alberuni was fought in the Punjab at Karhor, was in the last days of *W'ima* or the first year of one of his brothers whose rule ended in the very year owing to his death on the battle-field. The defeat was not the defeat of Kanishka but of his immediate predecessor. Kanishka seems to have changed his policy and started his first year as a pious Buddhist, and a law-abiding, kind king, following the example of the Buddhist Aśoka, and this policy would have reconciled the Punjab to him.

It may be noted that *Rusālu* means ‘Bad Tempered’ which is a translation of *Vishama-śila*. In any case the indication is certain in the express dynastic title *Śālivāhana*, which fixes the identity with the *Śālavāhana* *Vikramāditya* (II) of Alberuni.

In the result, the tradition of the astronomers, the tradition current in the time of Alberuni, the tradition current in the Punjab to-day, the data of the *Kathasaritsāgara*, the known history supplied by spade and inscriptions—all indicate that

there was a disruption of the Kushāna power at or towards the end of the reign of Wima Kadphises. The tradition of the defeat of the Śakas at 78 A.D., by a Śālivāhana (=Sātavāhana) king is rigidly historical. The tyranny of the early Kushānas which passed into folk-lore was real, and there was most likely a national rising, though the help and leadership came from the 'east' in the person of 'Rusālu' Śālivāhana Vikramāditya. Except the Sātavāhana power there was none else in the east, i.e., in inner India at the time capable of that feat of deliverance.

In the next thirty years the Kushāna empire under Kanishka and Vāseshka was re-established, though this time on a different moral basis. About a century later (250 A.D.) a number of strong Hindu dynasties arose again, but the final extinction of the Śakas was left for Chandragupta II to achieve, who after his success called himself 'Vikramāditya', and for a third time the title was assumed to commemorate a national victory over the Śakas.

(iv) *An Arab authority on the cessation of Kadphises' rule.*

For future reference, it is desirable to record another version of the destruction of the rule of the Kadphises, as it is confirmed by an Arab source which is in its turn based on an unknown Sanskrit work.

Mr. Jayachandra Vidyālānkāra whose home is near Karorh (करोड़), the Karur of Alberuni, in the Montgomery District of the Punjab, writes to me that the version of the tradition as given to him by an old villager is that Śālavāhana defeated Rājā Sir-Kap Risālu (the latter being the proper-name). According to this version the Sir Kap king defeated was Risalu, not that the Śālavāhana King's name was Risālu-Rāsālu, or Rusālu. I would have dismissed this version, had it not been for the fact that it is supported by an Arab source which is earlier than Alberuni.

An author who wrote a 'chronological abridgment of universal history' up to the sixth Hijri Century under the name 'Mujmal-ut Tawārikh' between the years 1126 and 1193 A.D. during the reign of Sanjar, Sultan of Saljukis, came across a dated Persian manuscript (1026 A.D.) in the handwriting of its Persian author. The name of the latter was Abul Hasan 'Ali,

keeper of a library at Jurjān. Abul Hasan 'Ali's manuscript was a Persian translation of a work of an Arab, *Abū Sālih bin Shu'aib*, who had translated it into Arabic from Sanskrit ('from the *Hindwānī language*'). The book, thus, though through two translations done before 417 A.H. (1026 A.D.), was 'an ancient book of the Hindus'. The book also contained certain dialogues as in the *Pañchatantra*. The Muhammadan author in his *Mujmal* quoted a few extracts on 'the origin of the kings and a short history of them' bearing on Sindh. These extracts have been translated into English in Elliot's *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 103-113 and are placed as the first piece amongst the 'Historians of Sind' (p. 100). Evidently the original Arab translator had before him some historical sketch in Sanskrit on the history of Sindh, and the materials may go back to the period of the time of the first Muhammadan invasion of Sindh. The Persian translation is literal of the Arabic original (Elliot, I, p. 102). According to the original authority the history of Sindh is divided in these periods :

- (i) under the *Bhārata* dynasty ;
- (ii) under the *Sunāgh*, i.e., Śiśunāga dynasty, and the Persian rule ;
- (iii) under *Hāl*, i.e., Sātavāhana dynasty and *Kafand*, i.e., Kadphises, and his son *Ayand* (*Uvam*) ;
- (iv) under *Vikramāditya* (*Gupta*).

(i) *Rule of Jayadratha's Queen in Sindh.*

In Sindh the Jats and Meds occupied the opposite sides of the Indus ; the Meds having been conquered by the Jats and having been driven to the opposite bank, the two tribes approached Duryodhana (*Dajūshan*) 'son of *Dahrāt*' to appoint a king. 'The Emperor Dajūshan' nominated his sister Duṣsalā ('*Dassäl*'), wife of King *Jandrāt* (Jayadratha).¹ ('The original work gives a long description of the country, its rivers and wonders and mentions the foundation of cities').

Different kings were appointed by the lady for the Jats and the Meds. The rule lasted over a number of years 'after which *Bhārata*s lost possession of the country'.

¹ In *Jandrāt*, *y* has been read *n*, an easy misreading in Persian.

'Injustice was the cause of the fall of the Pāndavas'. They had taken a cow of a Brahmin whose son captured *Hatnā* city,¹ their capital, and he is said to have reduced the Pāndavas to the position of a musician caste, 'but God knows'.

(ii) *Sunagh (Śiśunāka) Dynasty and the Persian Invasion of India.*

A Brahmin named *Fasaf* crowned his servant *Sunāgh* on the throne who practised justice. His dynasty had 15 sovereigns. The latter were tyrants and were contemporary of the Persian king *Gustāsf* (i.e., Darius' father *Hystaspes*). *Bahman* (i.e., Darius) in Gustasf's lifetime led an army into India and occupied a portion of it, while numerous kingdoms were set up (by Indians) against the dynasty of Sunāgh. Bahman returned to Persia on the report of Gustasf's death and assumed the crown. [The author notes here that this Indian account of the Persian bit of history he did not find elsewhere.]

(iii) *Hāl (i.e., Hāla Sātavāhana).*

'It is said that *Hāl* was the descendant of *Sanjwāra*, son of *Jandrāt*'. *Hāl* inherited in his empire the dominions of *Jandrāt* and *Dassāl* and their descendants. '*Hāl* became a very important person and built a fine capital and several cities.'

Kashmirian rule in Sindh.

His country exported fine cloth with the stamp of the royal foot-print which led to a war with the king of Kashmir. The king of Kashmir returned to his country. The latter was a builder of temples and superb cities. Sindh evidently passed on to his rule: 'The Government remained for a length of time in the hands of his descendants... In the country of Sindh there were three kings, until at length the territories of the Hindus came under the authority of King *Kafand*', 'after he had by his valour subdued them'.

King Kafand (i.e., Kaphs, Kapa, Kadphises).

'This Kafand was not a Hindu.' 'He made fine speeches and praised all the Hindus and their country. He raised their

¹ The last king was *Kūyāhurat*. His relation was *Bol*, son of Pandu.

hopes by his virtues, and realized them by his deeds'.....
 . 'In the *Shāhnāmā* he is called Kaid the Hindu'. 'He came after (*b'ād*) Alexander the Greek.' [This was a note by the author of the *Mujmal ut T.*; he later on considered him a contemporary of Alexander, to which he was led by the *Shāhnāmā* and his own identification.^{1]}]

Sāmid was his brother, who with the help and co-operation of 'Hāl, king of India', drove out the Persian fire-worshippers from Mansur (Sindh) and idol (Buddha) temples were set up where fire-temples stood. The fire-worshipper who was driven to *Kiyātasa* was *Mahra* (i.e., King *Mazdai*).² *Ayand* (i.e., *Uvima*, *Vama*) was the son of *Kafand* and he succeeded his father. He divided Sindh in four parts including the country which had been under *Sāmid* (*Sānīd*). 'This was after Hāl.' He posted kings in each of the four provinces, one of which comprised part of Hindustan, Nadama and Lohana. After *Ayand* his son, *Rāsal* became king. 'He reigned for some time until one rose up against him and expelled him from the kingdom. (Elliot, p. 110.)

* * *

Now it seems that *Kafand* represents *Kaphsa* or *Kapa* of the coins and inscription, and *Ayand*, his successor 'Uvima' or Wema Kadphises. *Rāsal* was probably the unrecorded successor of Wema who is the man driven out by ('one') Sātavāhana. Hāla who was a contemporary and helper of *Kafand* in driving out the Parthians (fire-worshippers of Persia), reigned about 17–21 A.D. (J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 279). *Ayand* (Wema) established sub-kingdoms, 'after the time of Hāl'; he flourished about 60 A.D. (J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 241). *Rāsal*, i.e. *Ayand*'s son would have been expelled about 78 A.D.

Apparently *Kafand* who was not a Hindu started a good rule, conciliatory to the Hindus. He raised *But* (Buddha) temples. This datum from this unexpected source is welcome.

¹ The English translator changed the text, *b'ād* into *ba'ahad*. Elliot, I, p. 108, n. 4.

² *Mahra-Mazdai*. He was evidently the same as king *Mazdai* who executed St. Thomas. Here is another proof of the truth of story of St. Thomas' coming to Sindh and the Punjab. In MS. *d* has been confused with *s*, e.g. *Barkamāris* for *Vikrmādit*.

The *Rāsal* of this Sindh history is confirmatory of the version which makes Risālū as the king defeated by Śālavāhana as against the version which makes Rāsālu identical with the Śālivāhana conqueror.¹

The data about *Sundgh* and synchronism with the Persian king and the Persian expedition in India are not less important. They show that there was a written record of it in India. The Śiśunāgas are considered as the second imperial family after the Bhāratas. The musician-caste story about the Bhāratas refers to Udayana. It is assumed that some Śiśunāgas were considered as suzerains of Sindh, and that the family of Jayadratha lasted for many generations in Sindh.² The connection of Hāla with Sindh is worthy of notice. After the Bhāratas and the Śiśunāgas the family of Hāla (the Sātavāhanas) is the imperial family according to this account. The driving out of the Parthians from Sindh and the neighbourhood by Kafand is confirmed by materials we already know. That Hāla helped Kafand in this is a new information.³

¹ The next extract is about *Rawwāl* and *Barkamāris*. They are called sons of *Rāsal*, which only means that they came after *Rāsal* and were rulers in Sindh, as Hāl is called a successor of Jayadratha. It means that the Gupta is the next imperial rule after that of Kafand and his descendants. Rawwāl's (Rāmagupta's) brother was *Barkarmāris* (Vikrāmaditya) who is described to have killed the enemy in the disguise of his brother's queen. (See my separate article on Chandra-Gupta II.)

² Cf. Wala Seal on the existence of the dynasty of Jayadratha in or near Kathiawād (IA., 38, 145).

³ Cf. Ferishta (*Introduction*, Elliot, VI. 547, 548, 555) on the reign of *Kishan*, his son *Mahā Rāj* (who 'with the assent of the chiefs of the tribe' ascended the throne), *Kaid Rāj* (who 'was nephew by the sister's side of Mahā Rāj, in accordance with whose will and testament he ascended the throne.' He built the fort of Jammu. There was a national rising and Kaid was made to evacuate the Punjab. Kaid reigned for 43 years). These are evidently *Kushāṇa*, *Mahārāja Kushāṇa*, and *Kadphises* of the archeologists.

IV.—Chandra-Gupta II (Vikramāditya) and his Predecessor.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

(i) Corroboration of the Devī-Chandraguptam.

§ 1. Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi was the first to discover two fragments of a lost drama called *Devī-Chandraguptam*¹ as cited by King Bhoja in his anthology *Sringāraprakāśa*. It was noted by Bhoja there that 'Chandra-Gupta, concealed in a female disguise, went to the enemy's camp—Alipuram—to kill the Śaka king'. स्त्रीवैष-निकुतः चन्द्रगुप्तः श्रव्याः स्त्राभावारं अलिपुरं शकपतिवधयागमत् Mr. Sarasvati² in that connexion cited the commentary of Śāṅkara: शकानामाचार्यः शकाधिपतिः चन्द्रगुप्तभाष्टजायां श्रुतवैष्णों प्रार्थयमानः चन्द्रगुप्तेन श्रुतवैष्णो-वेषधारिणा स्त्रीवैषजनपरिष्टवेन रहसि आपादितः on the well-known passage of Bāṇa (Harshacharita : अरिपुरे च परकल्पकासुकं कामिनौ-वेषगुप्तशच्चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिमग्रातयत्), but he dismissed it as a 'mistake in the statement of the commentator.' Professor Lévi, soon after,³ published six passages of the *Devī-Chandraguptam* from a manuscript of the Nātyadarpaṇa sent to him by a Jaina Sādhu at Śivapuri, Śri Vijayadharma Sūri, which established the statement of Śāṅkara that at the time of the Gupta attack on the Śaka king Dhruvadevī was the queen of his elder brother. The name of this latter king, which had been unknown before, was brought to light as *Rāma-Gupta*⁴, as well as the name of the author (*Viśākhadatta*) whom we already knew as the author of the classical drama *Mudrā-Rākshasa*. But Lévi declared the statement implied in the *Devī-Chandragupta* of Viśākhadatta 'to be far from historical reality' in respect of Rāma-Gupta being the elder brother of Chandra-Gupta and Dhruvadevī being Rāma-Gupta's wife. The ground for his doing so, evidently, was that the lady is referred to in the official inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty as the wife of Chandra-Gupta II and that it is also stated there

1 *I.A.*, July, 1923, pp. 182-183.

2 *Journal Asiatique*, Oct.-Decr., 1923, pp. 201-6.

3 The names of the Gupta kings are to be spelt with a capital *G*. Only the first part is the name. See § 18, below.

that Chandra-Gupta had been selected by his father Samudra-Gupta as his successor; there was, therefore, no room for a Rāma-Gupta to come in between Samudra-Gupta and Chandra-Gupta. I should say here that the same must have been the first impression with most of the students of Indian history. It is difficult for one familiar with the Gupta official documents to accept the Devi-Chandraguptam for the existence of the unfamiliar Rāma-Gupta and his wife. But the fact seems to be otherwise.

§ 2. The late Professor R. D. Banerji, in his *Nundy Lectures* (November, 1924)¹ postulated the thesis that Rāma-Gupta is to be regarded as the immediate predecessor of Chandra-Gupta II. Since then Professor Altekar in two papers² has placed before us (1) a verse from the Sanjan plate, (2) a passage from the *Kāvyamimānsā* of Rājaśekhara, and (3) a passage from a Muhammadan historian on *Rauwāl* and *Barkamāris*³, identifying *Barkamāris* with Chandra-Gupta II Vikramāditya.⁴ I may say at once that the identification is a solid contribution as we shall see presently.

§ 3. The Sanjan plate of Amoghavarsha, which is the earliest (873 A.D.)⁴ of his data, says that the great charitable donor-king of the Gupta dynasty who had caused to be recorded gifts of one hundred thousand crores⁵ was a poor being (in virtue, as compared with Amoghavarsha), for he took the kingdom of his brother and his queen. The verse cited by Rājaśekhara (C. 900 A.D.) confirms the story as we shall see below. And so does the Muhammadan version which is cer-

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 223.

² J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 223; XV, 138.

³ Elliot, i, 110. Both *a* and *i* vowels are to be supplied in Persian script. Thus reading '*Birkamā*', we have, further, to take *ris* as a mere MS. misreading for *dit* which is an easy misreading in that script. Mr. Altekar's identification is, however, based on the text of the story.

⁴ E.I., XVIII, 248 (verse 48).

⁵ This is the meaning of *lakshāni kotimalekhaya(t)*, not as Dr. Bhandarkar takes it: 'thereafter the wretch caused her [i.e., the Queen] to write down one lac, one crore (in the document)'. The reference is to recording of gifts. Cf. what Yuan Chwang says of Vikramāditya's donations and recording thereof in State annals. (Watters, i. 211.)

tainly older than 1026 A.D. An Arab (*Abū Sālih*) translated a Hindu book and the translation was rendered from Arabic into Persian in 1026 A.D. from which the history of Barkamāris is quoted by Abul Hasan 'Ali verbatim (1126–1193) [Elliot, i, 100 ff.]

§ 4. We have now evidence from a number of sources on the subject in a manner which is rather a rare combination in the field of Indian historical materials. We have

- (1) Bāna (C. 620 A.D.),
- (2) Amoghavarsha (873 A.D.),
- (3) Rājaśekhara (C. 900 A.D.),
- (4) Bhoja (1018–60 A.D.),
- (5) Abu-l Hasan 'Ali (1026 A.D.), and
- (6) Śaṅkara (1713 A.D.).

We may hold at once with Professor Lévi that Śaṅkara had the original drama *Devi-Chandraguptam* before him. Proof of the fact that the drama was extant till recently has come forward since Professor Lévi wrote: Mr. Kavi has written to me that he has recovered a manuscript of the drama *Devi-Chandraguptam* itself but it is a fragment. There is no doubt that the fragmentary manuscript is of the same book which is cited by different authors and that its author was Viśākhadatta.

§ 5. Out of the remaining authorities, (2) Amoghavarsha and (4) Bhoja occupy a semi-official position, and though we may dismiss Bhoja with the remark that his knowledge was very likely derived from the *Devi-Chandraguptam* itself, we certainly cannot say the same about (2), (3) and (5), and very likely also of (1). (2) Amoghavarsha records both the donation of the Gupta king (who can be no other than Chandra-Gupta II as rightly contended for by Professor Altekar) and implies the incident of the re-marriage of Dhruvadevi by Chandra-Gupta, and his succession after his brother.

§ 6. As to (3) Rājaśekhara, he quotes the verse as an instance of an allusion to a historical fact and its implication (*vṛitt=etivṛittah kathottah*, p. 46, on *Arthavyāpti*, p. 42). It is certain that this verse does not come out of the *Devi-Chandraguptam*. This is addressed by some poet to some king and by implication shows that the addressee was greater than the great

Gupta emperor in respect of his deeds in the Himālaya where the Gupta king had left such a bad record.¹ We have in this evidence an independent corroboration. And the evidence must go back at least to the ninth century, to be an authority well-known for citation without name. I may add here in passing that *Śarma-Gupta* is the result of an easy Nāgarī mis-reading of *Rāma-Gupta* (रा having been read as श, with a subsequent correction required by the metre and the necessity to have a correct Sanskrit word). Similarly *Khasa* in *Khasādhīpataye* is a transposed form of *sakha* (which was used for *Saka*, following the vernacular pronunciation).

§ 7. Like Rājaśekhara's authority, we have to regard Abu-l Hasan 'Ali who merely made a literal translation of the Arabic original which in turn was a translation of a Hindu work. The original Arabic work would have belonged to the period of the Arab conquest of Sindh or thereabout, and has to be placed about 800 A.D. It should be noted that the Persian translator heads the subject as '*History of Rawwāl and Barkamāris*' and places it in chronological order, giving it last, after the imperial periods of the Bharatas, Śiśunāgas and the Persian rule, Hāla and Kadphises, the son of the latter, and then a break.² The passage does not know *Chandra-Gupta* but *Vikramāditya*, while the drama mentions '*Chandra-Gupta*'. *Vikramāditya* is a later title assumed not at the stage where the Devī-Chandraguptam ends. The datum *ruddhagatih* ('besieged') in Rājaśekhara's quotation is fully confirmed by Abu-l Hasan 'Ali. *Rāsal* was the grandson of Kafand (*i.e.*, Kadphises) and son of Ayand (*i.e.*, *Uvīm*, *W'ma* or *Wema*).² He was dispossessed and driven away before Rawwāl's accession. *Rāsal*'s son (evidently, a descendant)

¹ G.O.S., No. 1, p. 47 :

कथोत्त्वः —

दत्त्वा रुद्धगतिः खसाधीपये देवौ भ्रुवस्त्रामिनीं

यस्यात् खण्डितसाहस्रो निवष्टते त्रौभर्म (corr. त्रौराम)-गुप्तो नृपः ।

तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुच्छ-कोणक्षपत्क्षिप्तरे

गौयने तव कार्तिकेयनगरलौणां गणः कौर्त्तयः ॥

It is not addressed to Kumāra-Gupta as wrongly supposed by Professor Altekar. *Kārtikeya* goes with *nagara*. No poet would have mentioned so irreverently about Kumāra-Gupta's own mother to him.

² See my separate article on Śaka-Sātavāhana in this issue.

led an army and put Rawwāl to flight. Rawwāl with his brothers and nobles all went to the top of a mountain where a strong fortress had been built. Then they set guards on the summit and felt secure. But the enemy got possession of the mountain by stratagem, and besieged the fort, and was near upon taking it. Rawwāl then sent to sue for peace, and his enemy said—"Send me the girl [i.e., the newly married queen] and let every one of your chiefs send a girl. I will give these girls to my officers—then I will withdraw." Rawwāl was dejected but he had a wazir, blind of both eyes, named *Safar*, of whom he enquired what was to be done. He advised them to give up the woman and save his life. He might then take measures against his enemy, but if he lost his life what would be the good of children and wife and riches. They resolved upon this course but just at this juncture, Barkāmaris came in, and after making his salutation, said, "I and the king are sons of the same father; if he will acquaint me with his opinion, it may be that I may be able to suggest something,—do not take my youth into consideration." So they informed him of the facts. He then said "It seems proper that I should take my life for the king: let an order be given for me to be dressed like a woman, and let all the officers dress their sons in like manner as damsels, and let us each conceal a knife in our hair, and carry a trumpet also concealed; then send us to the king. When we are brought before the king they will tell him that I am the damsel, he will keep me for himself and give the others to his officers. When the king retires with me I will rip up his belly with the knife and sound the trumpet. When the other youths hear this they will know that I have done my work, and they must also do theirs. All the officers of the army will thus be slain. You must be prepared, and when you hear the trumpet, you sally forth with your soldiers and we will exterminate the foe." Rawwāl was delighted and did as was proposed. It succeeded, not one of the enemy's horsemen escaped, all were slain and cast down from the mountain. Rawwāl's power increased.'

THE ARAB NARRATION AND VIKRAMĀDITYA'S MANTRIN.

Now, there is internal evidence indicating that the narration is substantially true. It was at the request of his *Wazir*, i.e., *Mantrin*, that Rāma-Gupta¹ agreed. The name of the Prime Minister of Rawwāl and latterly of Barkamāris is given (*Safar*) which is borne out by a document of the son of the Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II. The *lingam* now in the Lucknow Museum from Karamādānde (Fyzabad) dated G.E.

¹ *Rawwāl* is a Prakrit combination of *Rāma* and some other word like *pāla*. (It does not appear to be the same as *Rāwāl*.)

117 (=436 A.D.) has the inscription that Prithivishena, Senior Minister in charge of the army (*Mahābalādhikṛita*) under Kumāra-Gupta I, was the son of Śikhara-Svāmin, *Mantrin* and 'Prince-Minister', (*Kumārāmatya*) of Chandra-Gupta II.¹ Abu-1 Hasan 'Ali says that *Safar* was pardoned by Barkamāris and was persuaded by him not to resign, and that *Safar* wrote a treatise on Politics, '*Instruction of Kings*', i.e., a book under the title of *Rāja-nīti*, which was greatly admired by the king and all the nobles. *Safar* is said to have ended his life on the funeral pyre (like Kumārila), he had put it off to complete his book. This book was probably Kāmandakiya (see separate note on the subject in this issue). The Arab translator had prepared an abstract of it. *Safar* is the Arabic rendering of Śikhara. The name transcribed as سیف (Sigar after losing one dot, became سفار (Sifar or Safar). The Kāmandakiya Nīti which is addressed to the King as *Instruction* (see separate note in this issue), mentions the king's name (His Majesty the King Deva) and defends the killing of an enemy by assuming a disguise (see separate note). The coins of Chandra-Gupta and the contemporary sculptures, e.g. at the Chandra-Gupta cave at Udaygiri, prove that long locks of hair were worn by aristocracy at the time. That the besieged place was a hill-fortress from which the soldiers of the enemy could be hurled down is corroborated by the independent testimony of the verse in Rājaśekhara. Professor Lévi says that it was to give satisfaction to his 'people' that Rāma-Gupta agreed to the term, but 'prakritināmāśvasanāya' should refer to his Prime Minister (with the Ministers' Council), as stated by Abu-1 Hasan 'Ali. After the defeat was turned into a victory, '*Rawwāl's power increased.*' This as well as the closing statement that

'the power of Barkamāris and his kingdom spread until at length all India submitted to him'

could not be derived from the Devi-Chandraguptam, nor would the detail about the composition of the book on Political Science. The whole information is based on some historical

¹ E.I., X. 70. See the next paper in this issue.

work and not on a semi-historical source like a drama. It is also noteworthy that Abū Śálih made an abstract of the book of Safar (Śikhara), and he was not relying on oral tradition, for he especially notes '*I have related all the facts just as I found them.*'

§ 8. Coming to (1) Bāṇa, the position is this. That Chandra-Gupta dressed himself up as a woman and killed the Śakapati is a statement which can be explained only by the other data we now possess. Bāṇa who lived within a few miles from Pātaliputra (which I regard with Mr. Allan as the capital of the Gupta empire) and writing only two hundred years after Chandra-Gupta II, being intimately connected with the royal court of Harsha and the Maukhariis, must have had information in the form of court traditions and written state annals, which are spoken of by his contemporary Yuan Chwang especially with reference to the time of Vikramāditya. Even failing the latter, one would know in those days of the great Chandra-Gupta Vikramāditya as we know to-day of Akbar or Aurangzeb. An event connected with the preceding and recent dynasty in the time of Bāṇa—an event so epically daring and successful—an event which must have become part of universal knowledge like the fall of the Kaiser in our life-time—an event which swept away a hateful Mlechchha dynasty which had ruled for some 400 years—an event so triumphant as to cause a revival of the title of Vikramāditya, was beyond the possibility of oblivion in Bāṇa's time. His statement about it should be regarded as good history.

§ 9. The result is that we have three independent sources ranging from 800 to 1000 A.D., confirming the Devi-Chandraguptam expressly and one of C. 620 A.D., confirming it impliedly. The evidence of the Devi-Chandraguptam is therefore to be accepted.

(ii) *Gupta Inscriptions.*

§ 10. Now let us consider whether the datum is against the inscriptions.

The inscriptions do not seek to give either a complete genealogy of Samudra-Gupta's sons or a complete list of successions. They only purport to give the line of a particular king,

e.g. of Chandra-Gupta II, Kumāra-Gupta, Skanda-Gupta. As only the son and the descendants of Chandra-Gupta II succeeded, no mention was necessary or possible of Rāma-Gupta. Chandra-Gupta II was the son of Samudra-Gupta and the fact was mentioned; neither Chandra-Gupta nor his descendants would go out of their way to bring in Rāma-Gupta in the official records: the descent from father to son was complete in itself. Again, Chandra-Gupta II had in his favour the additional fact that his father's will and bequest was in his favour. The fact was mentioned to justify the unusual succession of the younger son, which became probably necessary on account of the existence of some other brother elder than Chandra-Gupta. The Eran inscription of Samudra-Gupta mentions the existence of several sons and grandsons of Datta-Devi and Samudra Gupta. Abū Sālih also says that Rawwāl had his 'brothers' with him, that is, brothers more than Chandra-Gupta, who was evidently one of the youngest, as he was only a lad who could successfully assume the look of a girl. The succession of young sons in the dynasty—e.g. in the known cases of Samudra-Gupta, Chandra-Gupta and Skanda-Gupta—explains the high average of reigns in the dynasty.

(iii) *Identification and Succession of Rāma-Gupta.*

§ 11. We have the unassigned coins of Kācha Gupta which follow so closely the coinage of Samudra-Gupta that Mr. Allan in his Catalogue of Gupta Coins has assigned them to Samudra-Gupta himself. Yet the portrait is so different that he has to be taken as a distinct and separate king. His coins are few and of one type. There is no doubt that they come immediately after Samudra-Gupta and that his issues were not many. Dr. Bhandarkar has told me that 'Rāma' is merely a misreading for 'Kācha' which is plausible enough in the script of the Gupta period. But it is also possible that Kācha had another name as 'Rāma'. The Muhammadan historian's Rawwāl suggests a Prakrit form derived from 'Rāma'. It, again, occurs in the quotation given by Rājaśekhara in his Kāvya-māṁsā as Śarma शर्म (corr. राम)-Gupta which, in my opinion, as already pointed out, is a copyist's mistake for the Nāgarī

Rāma-Gupta. The form *Rāma* occurring so persistently is probably not to be taken as a mere misreading of *Kācha*. I have, however, no doubt, in view of the coinage, that he is identical with *Kācha*, and Dr. Bhandarkar's main conclusion and mine agree in the result.

§ 12. The Gupta official inscriptions assert that Chandra-Gupta II had been selected by Samudra-Gupta as his successor to the Empire of India. This should be taken as a fact. The subsequent generations accepted it. The selection by the father implies, as in his own case, that there was an elder son or there were elder sons who were not considered to be competent by the father. In the case of Samudra-Gupta's selection by his father, the Council of Ministers gave their assent (Allahabad Pillar inscriptions¹). But this is not asserted in the case of Chandra-Gupta II. On the other hand, as we have seen, Abū Sālih says that a very able authority on Hindu Politics was the chief minister at the succession of Rawwāl and that he remained his faithful supporter throughout and was opposed to Vikramāditya and that on the latter's accession he wanted to retire. Evidently the Prime Minister (that is, he along with the Council of Ministers) did not favour a passing over of the eldest who in the eye of the orthodox Hindu Law was entitled to succeed as a matter of right. Events proved that the Prime Minister proved a pedant in the matter, and the late Emperor was right. Rāma-Gupta was a coward, as Viśākhadatta puts it, or a man of little courage, as Rājāsekha's authority describes him. As far as he could do it, he lost everything—the empire, name, prestige and honour of his house. Samudra-Gupta must have considered that the Shāhanushāhi, who had occupied the imperial position for the last three centuries, though had accepted his suzerainty, was still in the country and would probably raise his head again; and that there were at the time the powerful and ambitious Vākāṭakas who had been dreaming of acquiring the imperial position for themselves. Samudra-Gupta had made a right estimate of the political situation and of his eldest son's character,

¹ Allahabad Pillar Inscription, line 7 'sabhyeshūchchhvasiteshu'.

while the ministers evidently failed to realize it. That there had been no war of succession is evident from the fact that Chandra-Gupta the nominee son of Samudra-Gupta remained with his eldest brother and was present with him at the time of the impending disaster and was on good terms with his brother, for he offered to risk his life for the king.

§ 13. The factor which seems to have operated in favour of the succession was the respect for the orthodox Hindu Law which was reigning supreme at the time, having been brought on its pedestal back by the Gupta régime itself. The Guptas and their whole court were fastidious Hindus. Chandra-Gupta himself, following the example of Bharata, would have allowed his elder brother Rāma to be seated on the throne against the parental bequest, as a pious act of self-negation, dictated both by tradition and law. Abū Sālih and the inscriptions both unite in describing him as a man with a religious turn of mind.

(iv) *Dhruva-Devi.*

§ 14. Dhruva-devī who is very respectfully spoken of both by contemporaries and subsequent generations (e.g., she is referred to as Dhruva-svāminī in the verse quoted by Rājāśekhara), seems to have given up marital relations with Rāma-Gupta after her rescue, according to Viśākhadatta. She was justified in giving up her unmanly husband, who had belied his name and the tradition underlying that name. Rāma had fought Rāvana for his wife, while Rāma-Gupta agreed to give up his wife and hand her over to the Mlechchha to save his own life and throne. She had a right to be disgusted ; and unless she were an effete woman with no individuality and backbone, as long as she was a woman, she must resent and decline to own such a despicable man as her lord. She was, according to Viśākhadatta, burning with shame, indignation, sorrow, asceticism and fear¹ (of molestation from Rāma-Gupta ?).

§ 15. How Rāma-Gupta's end came about, we do not know and we will not know until we recover a complete copy of the Devi-Chandraguptam. Very likely it came about in the

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 229, verse in passage marked VI.

form of a popular rising : for the Mahā-Bhārata says that the king who does not protect is to be treated like a rabid dog by his subjects. It seems, however, certain that it was a violent end. But there is no evidence yet to connect it directly or indirectly with Chandra-Gupta. In rescuing the honour of the Queen of Hindu India and his brother's throne he acted as one of the noblest of men. He had made personal sacrifice in allowing his brother's succession. He as king practically abolished capital punishment in India. In face of his known character, we cannot accept the story attributing his brother's murder to him, in the absence of positive and reliable evidence.¹ He is called a *Rājarshi*² at Udyagiri and Viśākhadatta in the Mudrā-Rākshasa *bharatavākyā* (discussed below) describes Chandra-Gupta as *bandhubhrityah* ('loyal to his brother'). Available evidence contradicts the later aspersion which the Sanjan plate is careful to qualify with 'as one hears'. Although the evidence of Abū Sālih is against Chandra-Gupta but it is to be taken as yet lacking corroboration and the details lack reality.³

RE-MARRIAGE OF DHRUVADEVI.

§ 15. The re-marriage of Dhruvadevi with Chandra-Gupta must be accepted as a historical fact.

We have the reference contained in the Sanjan Copperplate of Amoghavarsha (I) dated 795 Śaka (=873 A.D.). Amoghavarsha who had gifted away the entire State (*i.e.*, its revenue) and once cut off his finger to deliver his subjects from some national distress, was compared with the Gupta king, the

¹ Bāṇa does not give Chandra-Gupta in his list as murdering his brother. Mr. Altekar's explanation (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XV, 141; XIV, 241-242) is not borne out by the text he relies on. The reference *madanavikāra-gopana-parasya* seems to be an affair like or related to his love for Mādhyavasenā (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, 228, *I.A.*, 1923, p. 183), and *śatrubhītasya* has an evident connexion with an episode of that nature. In that *bhīta* state of mind he seeks refuge into the palace.

² Fleet, *G.I.*, p. 35, l. 3.

³ Abū Sālih's this part of the story does not read like history. That the king's palace should be unattended by any guards at the door and any servants inside, and his not recognizing even the voice of his beggar-brother (Barkamāris) are details belonging to the region of pure fiction.

greatest *dātā* (benefactor) of the Kali Age, who had caused to be recorded gifts of a hundred thousand Kotis (crores) [in his reign]. The comparison was concluded to the advantage of the Rāshtrakūta king, as the Gupta king was alleged to have misappropriated the kingdom of his brother and also taken his Devī (Queen). Abū Sālih says that Vikramāditya performed the obsequies of his brother and married the queen of his brother on his death. The fact that Chandra-Gupta re-married Dhruvadevi, the widow of his brother, is certain. Such a marriage was not only sanctioned but held desirable by the Hindu Law which ruled in that age. The story given in the *Mujmal-ut-Tawārīkh* that the Queen had been first betrothed to Vikramāditya and that his elder brother Rawwāl took her himself as his wife may or may not be true, it may or may not be a subsequent explanation. But the popular version attested by the account given by Abū Sālih and the taunt in the Sanjan plate, together with the statement in the official documents of the Guptas, establish the re-marriage.

(v) *The place of Rāma-Gupta's disaster.*

§ 16. Abū Sālih says that Vikramāditya's brother was besieged in a hill-fortress. We are here materially helped by Rājaśekhara who in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (p. 47, ch. IX—on *Arthavyāpti*) cites from an older authority a verse discussed above saying 'in that very *Himālaya*' (तस्मैव हिमालये) where the demoralised (*khaṇḍita-sāhasak*) 'Śarma-Gupta' (corr. *Rāma-Gupta*) had been besieged (*ruddhagatih*) and had to (agree to) surrender 'the Queen Dhruva-Svāminî' 'Your fame is sung by womenfolk...' This datum is earlier than Rājaśekhara, that is, earlier than 900 A.D. And we have it stated definitely therein that the Gupta king was held up in a place in the Himalayan range. We may take note of the fact that Abū Sālih's survey is confined to the provinces of Sindh and the Punjab. I would conclude that the place was in the hills in the Jallundhar Doab, somewhere in or about the Sabathu Hill of the Himalayas where in the Moghul times Guru Govind Simha founded his military base. My reasons for this conclusion are these. The Gupta empire under the preceding reign, according to the Allahabad Pillar

inscription, which was recorded after the death of Samudra-Gupta either under Rāma-Gupta or Chandra-Gupta, extended upto the kingdom of Kartṛipura and Nepal. The territory adjoining Kartṛipura was thus evidently under the rule of the Guptas. The hill-fortress—a strong position and a strong building—had been already prepared, according to Abū Sālih, i.e., by the Gupta kings. We may take it that it must have been in the Gupta territory. There was a war in the plains and the Gupta king was forced to take shelter in his fortress. Now, battle-fields in each country are designed by nature. As a big land war is bound to be decided near Attock in the Frontier Province, or at Panipat if it takes place in the Kurukshetra country; similarly in the Punjab proper the field designed by nature is the Doab of Jallundhar between the Beas and Jhelum, as illustrated by the Sikh Wars in recent times.

§ 17. Do we get any place-name in our documents for this war? *Aripura* of Bāna, if a proper-name, was the area which like Kartṛipura, extended upto the Himalayan Hills, viz., to the Simla and Sabathu Hills. King Bhoja reads it as *Alipura* (transcribed in the southern manuscript as *Alipura*). The old village of *Aliwāl* in the Jallundhar District which became a battle-field in the first Sikh War might be retaining that ancient name.¹

The *Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi* ('King, king of kings'), that is, the Kushāṇa Emperor, the neighbour of Samudra-Gupta, could have been only in the Punjab. His territory extended from the frontiers of Kartṛipura upto Bactria, his ancestral seat, probably as one administrative unit.²

(vi) *The Śaka-pati.*

The *Śaka-pati* of our authorities² therefore was in the Punjab, and undoubtedly he was *Śakādhipati*, as Śaṅkara calls him or * *Sakhādhipati* of Rājaśekhara's author, that is, he was the Emperor of the Śakas or the Śakan Emperor, the *Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi* ['King, king of kings,']. The other title given by

¹ I am told, there is a hill-fortress *Alipur* in the Kangra District.

² For his name and kingdom in the Punjab see my second paper on the subject in the next issue of this Journal.

Sāṅkara, Śakānām āchāryah, has a bearing on this question. That king was not only the emperor of the Śakas but also their religious leader—which is probably an attempt to give value to *Daivaputra* ‘the Son of Heaven’.

(vii) *Date of the Śakādhipati War.*

The war was fought immediately or soon after the death of Samudra-Gupta and the accession of Rāma-Gupta. This is suggested by Abū Salih's account. The fewness of Kācha's coins and their being only of one variety suggest that the total reign of Rāma-Gupta Kācha, both before and after the Himalayan disaster, did not cover more than two years or so. We should date the war about 375-380 A.D. Early in the beginning of the next century when Fa-Hian comes, he does not find any big Buddhist emperor in the Punjab, nor does he mention a recent war. He only knows an established and wonderfully well-regulated and a most prosperous government. The war must have been finished some considerable time before his visit.

(viii) *Forms of Gupta names.*

§ 18. I have shown in my separate note on the authorship of the Kāmandakiya Niti-sāra that in the Gupta names the real names are the first members. This is fully established by inscriptions (cited in that note). ‘*Gupta*’ is to be taken in the names as *upādhi* (title)—*Chandraśchāsau Guptah*, as in the case of ‘*Prabhāvati Guptā*’. The real name of Chandra-Gupta is therefore *Chandra*, *Chandra the Gupta*. Compare in this connection the expression *Gupta-nātha* in the Mandasor inscription of the ‘national leader’ Yaśodharman who was not a king and who mentions his sovereign as ‘the Gupta Master’. All Hindu writers (e.g., in the Sanjan plate) treat *Gupta* as the family title, which means that it is not a part of the name. This is clearly illustrated by *Deva-rāja* and *Deva-Gupta*, the other name of Chandra-Gupta. We should spell these names as *Chandra Gupta*, *Kumāra Gupta*, etc., and not as *Chandragupta*, *Kumaragupta*, etc. We should also note that the coins of Kācha Gupta always and Chandra-Gupta often show the name only as ‘Kācha’ and ‘Chandra’.

(ix) *Mihrauli Iron Pillar.*

§ 19. The original site of the iron pillar now standing at Kutub-Mihrauli (Delhi) must have been a 'mountain' (*girau*), at *Vishnupada*, as the inscription on it proves. It was probably in the Himalayas near or above Hardwar which is reputed as *Vishnupadī*. The place must have been under *Anangapāla* to enable him to bring it from there and re-set it at Delhi. This too points towards the Hardwar hills. The inscription on it is later than the death of the sovereign *Chandra* mentioned on the pillar. The pillar was erected by himself, but the inscription was engraved by his successor.

Mr. Ganga Prasad Mehta, a professor of history at the Hindu University at Benares, has written a work in Hindi on Chandra-Gupta II for the Hindustāni Academy of Allahabad. In its introduction I have accepted the identification by that scholar of the *Chandra* of the Iron Pillar with Chandra-Gupta II. For the information of English-knowing scholars I may give here the line of the argument of Mr. Mehta. He compares the language of and expressions in the coins of Chandra-Gupta II with those occurring on the pillar. He also shows that Chandra-Gupta was a great Vaishnava both according to the Gupta inscriptions and this pillar. The comparison of expressions seems to me as convincing. Chandra's identification with the Chandra of Susunia inscription, as originally proposed by MM. Haraprasad Sastri, is to be given up, as Mr. K. N. Dikshit has proved the latter to be a Bengal king. The scripts also prove that the latter flourished later than the builder of the Iron Pillar.

§ 20. The last line of the Iron Pillar has a curious word, *dhāvena*, which has been variously taken, *viz.*, as a proper-name and as a mis-spelt word.¹ Its position shows that it is a proper name. But instead of correcting it into *bhāvena* (as done by Dr. Fleet) I would read it as *Devena*.²

§ 21. In any case the identity seems to be certain. For this we have internal evidence in the history recorded in

¹ Fleet, G.I., p. 142, No. 2.

² The letter is clearly cut as *dhā*, which in any case is a mistake.

the inscription itself. The king 'having crossed in war' 'the seven faces of the river Sindhu' defeated the Bactrian (*i.e.*, in or about Bactria) (*tirtvā yena mukhāni sapta samare Sindhor jijtā Vālhikāḥ*). This will be necessary if Chandra-Gupta II wanted to finish the Kushāṇa rule in India once for all. That he did finish it is admitted at all hands. The Kushāṇas had Bactria, their ancestral home, as their real base, wherefrom they retrieved their position shaken in India in the past. It was necessary to wage war over the whole of the *Sapta-Sindhu* area (Persian *Haft-Hindu*) with which Afghanistan and Bactria were intimately and integrally connected. Chandra conquered the seven faces or feeders of the Indus 'in war', that is, he had to contest all the ground of the Seven-Sindhu Province. In going to Bactria from Āryāvarta one has to cross successively the seven rivers making up the Indus (*i.e.*, the five rivers of the Punjab, with the Kabul and the Kunar rivers meeting the Indus). The Kabul, the Kunar and the five rivers of the Punjab make up the trunk or the body of the Indus: the Indus in fact has seven 'mukhas', faces, mouths or feeders. They are not the *mouths* of the River as we understand the term in English. Only a mariner will think of passing the seven mouths of the Indus at the sea. No sane man will see the necessity of crossing all the mouths of the river in an expedition even in going to Baluchistan, to get where one would cross only the main stream of the Indus. Scholars have been misled by the word 'mouths' into supposing that the king reached Baluchistan and that Baluchistan was meant by *Vālhika*. But that the Hindus had a correct and exact view of *Vālhika* (as Bactria) even upto the time of Rājaśekhara is proved by the *Kāvyamīmānsā* (Ch. XVII; p. 94). *Sapta mukhāni* in the inscription is used in the same sense as *chatur-mukha, shadānana*) *Daśānana*—having so many heads. Sindhu (*Nada*, a man-river, is envisaged as having seven faces or heads.

§ 22. The script of the Iron Pillar is certainly second only in date to the Allahabad Pillar script. Its early character is admitted by every one. Now we find that *Chandra* alone was the real name of Chandra-Gupta II, there is therefore no difficulty in the way of the identification on the score of the

name-form. The history of the extinction of the Kushāṇa power in India fits in with the history recorded on the Iron Pillar. In the inscription, passages from coin-legends of Chandra-Gupta II are incorporated, as Mr. Mehta shows. He is the great Vaishṇava king of the dynasty. The age of the script agrees exactly with the age of Chandra-Gupta II. Conquest of Bengal is proved by the possessions of Bengal in the hands of his descendants. Chandra-Gupta II's political influence in southern countries is now well-established.¹ All this fully tallies with the biography of Chandra on the Iron Pillar. I do not find that there is any loop-hole for an escape from the identification of the Chandra of the Iron Pillar with Chandra-Gupta II.

§ 23. The language of the verses is one which only a Kalidāsa could have employed. Kalidāsa who was a contemporary (being an ambassador of Chandra-Gupta II in the south¹⁾) could not have thought of describing a Hindu *dīvijaya* reaching the banks of the Oxus (Vaṅkshu), i.e., Bactria, without the fact having been accomplished by a Hindu Sovereign before or in his time, and who could this Hindu Sovereign be other than Chandra-Gupta II?

(x) *Viśākhadatta.*

§ 24. When last December I saw the Gupta cave-temple at Udaygiri (Bhilsa-Vidiśa), cut by the Governor of Chandra-Gupta II, and the Varāha panel, I found for myself the whole scheme—the Varāha, the rock-cut temple, the subsidiary statues of the Gupta coin-goddess, etc.—as one piece of architectural design. The same polish which is on the handsome figures of Jaya and Vijaya with long locks of hair parted in the middle, at the door of the temple, extends up to the Varāha panel executed by the side of the door. It was a good thing that the Varāha figure is sculptured outside the temple, otherwise the grandeur of that masterpiece would have been lost in the darkness of the cave. Face to face with the standing figure of Varāha, in the pose of Chandra-Gupta II on his coins, rescuing

¹ Moraes, *Kadamba-kula*, pp. 21, 26, 27.

by the end of his tusk a most beautiful woman, receiving the homage of orthodoxy in the persons of ṛishis and of the crowd playing various music, face to face with that image, I recalled to my mind Viśākhadatta's bharatavākyā :—

वाशाहौमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्यतस्यातुरुपां
यस्य प्राप्तदन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिते भूतधात्री ।
स्त्रेच्छैरुद्दिक्षमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्त्तेः
स श्रीमद्भूम्भृत्यस्त्रिमवतु महौं पार्थिवस्त्रगुप्तः ॥

The *slesha* in the verse is to be interpreted. Dhundhirāja, the commentator, failed to carry the figure upto the part dealing with 'King Chandra-Gupta'. The verse, fully interpreted, gives the biography of the King Chandra-Gupta. *Chandra-Gupta* has been taken by Viśākhadatta to mean Vishṇu: *chandra*=gold; *chandragupta*=*hiranya-garbha*=Vishṇu.¹ *Prithvi* is *Dhurā*, *bhūta-dhātī* is the mother of the race as well as the *Prithvi*; *danta-koti* is a weapon, a dagger-knife shaped as the tusk of a boar still current in India.² Now Viśākhadatta had to bring in the weapon *danta-koti* in his allusion to his king '*reigning at present*'; for this he adopted the simile of the Varāha incarnation, where also the rescued Earth is regarded as Vishṇu's wife. He executed his *slesha* in a masterly manner. Vishṇu killed Hiranyāksha by assuming the guise of Boar; Chandra-Gupta killed the Mlechchhas by assuming an appropriate disguise, of *śakti* (Vaishṇavī).

To translate the benedictory verse in its two main aspects—

(1) King Chandra-Gupta and (2) Vishṇu :—

(1) May the king Chandra Gupta, loyal to his (late) Majestic (*Śrīmān*) brother, rule over the country for a long time—the king on the arms of whose royal figure at this moment rests she (the Country or Queen Dhruva-Devi) who had been subjected to mental agony by the Mlechchhas, the king who, while being his own self (sex), assumed the disguise of Varāhi

¹ See Sarvānanda on Amara, III. 180. *Gupta* by itself means Vishṇu गुप्तस्त्रगदाधरः (*Vi. S. Nāma*).

² For *danta* (Vedic) as the head of an arrow or some similar weapon see Monier Williams (Sans. Dict.). I take *dantakoti* as a technical Gupta name of the dagger called Karauli at present.

(*Sakti*-energy), a form required ('appropriate') in the duty of protection (*avanavidhau*) and who rescued by the point of *danta-koti* (dagger) the drowning, sinking Protectress (*i.e.*, the Queen; with the other meaning, the 'Earth').

The other (2) meaning (in *Vishnu-paksha*) is:

That *Vishnu*, the lord of the Earth, may protect for ever the Country,—*Vishnu* who possesses *Śri*, and his servants in the (two) brothers (*Jaya* and *Vijaya*), who in the process of rescue assumed the necessary form of *Varāha* (Boar), though he is Self-Soul, at the end of whose tusk the Bearess of living beings, sinking in the deluge, obtained safety, and on the two arms of whose regal figure, rests she who had been harassed by the *Mlechchhas* (Asuras).

§ 25. The sculpture seems to me to be the result of *Viśākhadatta*'s imagination. The temple is without a deity inside. The deity is sculptured outside. But the temple has the two brothers (*Jaya* and *Vijaya*) at the door. The sculptor has followed the imagery of *Viśākhadatta* and if *Viśākhadatta* was a man of Malwa or related to the Governor of Chandra-Gupta who was the donor of the temple and the sculptures, he might have himself directed the drawing. In any case the two are interconnected. The sculptor has drawn a *Chandra-Gupta* (*with Dhruvadevi*)-*Varāha*, and the poet a *Chandra-Gupta Maurya* turned into *Chandra-Gupta II* plus a *Vishnu* of necessity—the necessity of a low disguise.¹

§ 26. The Devi-Chandraguptam is the life-drama of this epic king. We have the illustration in the *Kaumudimahotsava*, another Gupta piece, where the biography of a ruling king was staged.² But the Devi-Chandraguptam was probably rendered later than its hero. The familiar name 'Deva' is replaced by the official name Chandra-Gupta even in his pre-coronation state. A love-scene with a courtezan is staged, which would be an indecency in the life-time of the hero. The drama must have

¹ By calling the king '*pārthiva Chandra-Gupta*' ('*Vishnu* in human, material form') probably the poet is (hinting) that the *upāsya* and the *upāsaka* were identified (*tanmaya*) by devotion, and the consequentia manifestation of superhuman deeds, partaking of the attributes of *Vishnu* through the devotee, was the result of that *bhakti* unity.

² For the book see the Journal of the Andhra Research Society, Vols. II and III; and discussion thereon by me in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1930, p. 50 ff.

been written in the time of his son and might not have been published by the author in his own life-time. While *Mudrā-Rākshasa* is a contemporary document, the *Devī-Chandraguptam* is later. The author must have been a younger contemporary of the king. He was a 'Māhāraja's' grandson; probably he belonged to Mālwa and was unfamiliar with the familiar name of the King ('*Deva*') which is used by his daughter *Prabhāvatī Guptā* and her descendants.

V.—The Book on Political Science by Śikhara, Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

Abū Sālih,¹ the Arab, who made an abstract of the book of Sifar or Siqar (=Śikhara)² gives the name of the book as *Adabu-l Mulūk* or 'Instructions to Kings' which is a rendering of *Rāja-nīti*. That *Kāmandakiya Nīti* is a work which had been well-established before the time of Bhavabhūti and Daṇḍin is shown by Ganapati Sastri (Trivandrum S.S. no. 14, pp. V-VI). Other grounds for holding it to be a Gupta production are given by me in my *Hindu Polity* (i. 215) and I need not repeat them here. Abū Sālih and the *Nīti* itself help us in assigning it to the reign of Chandra-Gupta II.

Just as Viśakhadatta contrives to give the name of Chandra-Gupta II in the benedictory verse at the close of the *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, the author of the *Nīti-sāra* manages to give the name of his patron in an unmistakable way in the opening verse. Owing to the double meaning (*slesha*) which is the ruling literary fashion of the Gupta Kāvya, the reference escaped notice of scholars :

यस्य प्रभावाद्गुरुं भास्ते पथि तिष्ठति ।
देवः स जयति श्रीमान् दण्डधारो महीपतिः ॥

'His Majesty (*Śrīmān*) King Deva, holder of the sceptre, by whose authority men are adhering to the traditional (national) path, is ruling ("is victorious").'

We know from the Sanchi inscription of Āmrakārdava, an officer of Chandra-Gupta II, that the emperor Chandra-Gupta's pet name [*priya-nāma*, translated as 'familiar name' by Fleet, G.I., p. 33] was *Deva-rāja* or 'King Deva'. That *Deva* was the name and not *Deva-rāja* is evident from the fact that Prabhātī Guptā is described as the daughter of *Deva Gupta*, not

¹ See my article on Chandra-Gupta II, in this issue.

² Misreading of *q* for *f* for want of one dot. See my article on Chandra-Gupta II, *supra*.

Deva-rāja, in the Vākātaka inscriptions (Fleet, G. I., p. 235ff.). The identity of Chandra-Gupta II and Deva-Gupta, father of Prabhāvati, is fully established by the inscription discussed by Mr. Pathak which gives *Chandra-Gupta* instead of *Deva-Gupta* (I.A., 1912, 215, V. Smith, J.R.A.S., 1914, 325). The names of the Gupta dynasty with -*Gupta* endings are to be spelt in English with a capital G (e.g., *Chandra-Gupta*), as the real names are only the first members (*Samudra*, *Chandra*, *Skanda*, etc.). This is illustrated by the forms *Deva-rāja*, *Deva-Gupta*, *Prabhāvati-Guptā*, etc., where *Gupta* is used as a mere surname.

The real name was thus only 'Deva'. We already know that ministerial posts were hereditary under the Guptas.¹ The old, blind *Mantrin* ('Wazir'), who evidently came down from the time of the emperor's father, exercised the privilege of age in referring to his new and young sovereign by the *priya* (dear and familiar) name *Deva*.

The book further bears the stamp of the revival of the traditions of Chandra-Gupta the Maurya. As royal parents revived the name naming their sons after the Maurya Chandra-Gupta, as emperors sought to revive the Indian empire of the Maurya, so authors went back to the Maurya literature and made pointed references to it. Our *Niti* belongs to that class, and the author does bring in the name of Chandra-Gupta and Kautilya (*ājahāra nrīchandrāya Chandraguptāya medinīm*, i. 5).

The author says that he is giving '*Instructions to the King* (or, *kings*) in the matters of government by his manual (i, 7-8, उपार्जने पालने च भूमेष्वैसीश्वरं प्रति, यत्किञ्चिदुपदेश्यामः....).

The last verse of Ch. 25 (verse 71) seems to defend Chandra-Gupta II for killing the Śaka by stratagem :

'This is well settled that enemies may be killed by stratagem; morality is not offended by a murder of an enemy through disguise':

सुनियतमुपहन्यात् कूटयुद्धेन शत्रून् ।

न हि तिरथति धर्मं छद्मना शत्रुघातः ॥

¹ Allan, C.C.G.D., p. xiii. Śikhara, however, was a Brahmin, whose father was a *pandita*; he seems to have risen himself by learning, but in his son the post became hereditary (EI. X, 70).

And he cites what Drona's son did, while the Pāñdava army was asleep, unsuspecting (अचकितमवस्थाम् पापद्वानामनीकं निश्च सुनिश्चितशस्त्रो द्रौणस्त्रुत्यज्ञघान ॥).

There are numerous passages in the Nīti which echo the language and style of the classical Gupta poets.

Kāmandaka was probably a family title of Śikhara, as Kautilya was of Vishṇugupta. As Vishṇugupta Kautilya wrote his Artha-Śāstra for Narendra (Chandra-Gupta Maurya), Śikhara (Kāmandaka) wrote his Nīti-sāra for king Deva.

Khazrāji¹ Ibn Abi Usaibeī'a, the Arab writer, in his history of scientists which he completed in 743 A.H., mentions (vol. II, pp. 32-34, Egyptian printed edition, Matba-i-Wahbia, 1882 A.D.) that the book by the Hindi author *Sikkar*, (which can be read both as *Sikkar* and *Sikkah*) was translated into Arabic (evidently under the Abbasid Caliphs). This *Sikkar* is Śikhara and undoubtedly the same authority who is mentioned by Abū Salih and is misspelt in the manuscript consulted by Elliot as *Sifar* (or *Safar*). Khazraji tells us that some Hindu author *Sanjhal* (سنجل) wrote on the book of *Sikkar*. Khazraji is here giving the name of the commentator of *Sikkar*, i.e., Śikhara. There was only one early commentator of the Kāmandaka-Nīti, Śāṅkara-Ārya, and Śāṅkara-Ārya cites no other commentator.² We do not know the date of Śāṅkara-Ārya from Indian sources. Śāṅkarārya does not quote any late authority.³ The word Śāṅkara, pronounced in a vernacular of the Punjab or Sindh as *Saṅgkar* or *Saṅghar*, will be rendered by Arabs as *Sanghar* and *Sanjhar*.

¹ I am obliged to my friend Mr. Reaz Hasan Khan for kindly giving me an extract from this author bearing on Sanskrit authorities known to the Arabs.

² That Śāṅkarārya is not the same as Śāṅkara, the commentator of the *Mudrā-Rākṣhasa*, is clear from their respective styles, and the forms of their names would also indicate two different persons.

³ He cites Kautilya, a book on trade (*panya*) by *Videharāja*, one on agriculture by *Parāśara* (II § 3, 14). The last two are unknown to every other writer on politics.

VI.—The Paramâras of Bhinmal.

D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D. (London).

The Bhinmal branch of the Paramâras played a considerable part in the history of mediæval India. The princes of this family designated themselves the rulers of Marumândala.¹ Their territory extended upto Balmer in the Jodhpur State on the west, and their capital was at Śrimâla, the modern Bhinmal, in the same Jodhpur State, a hundred miles south-west from Jodhpur itself.

Our main source of material for building up the short history of this family is the mutilated Kiradu inscription.²

The record is dated 1218 V.S.=1161 A.D. Here Sindhu-râja is described as the earliest member of the family, whose son and successor was Dûsala. The former is probably the same as the younger brother and successor of the Paramâra Vâkpati-Muñja, king of Malwa (A.D. 972–995). Vâkpati once proceeded as far as the country of Marwar, in the course of his campaigns.³ It may be that during that time Candana and Dûsala were respectively posted in Jalor and Bhinmal, as Viceroys of the imperial house of Dhârâ.

After a mention of the name Dûsala, a few lines in the Kiradu inscription are illegible. Next we come across the name of the prince Devarâja. An inscription⁴ of his reign has been discovered. It is dated Sam. 1059=1002 A.D., and was issued when the king was residing in Śrimâla (*i.e.*, Bhinmal).

Devarâja seems to have established friendly relations with the Cáhamânas of Śâkambhari after the defeat of the Mâlava king Sindhu-râja by the Caulukya Câmundarâja.⁵ His inscription relates that he pleased one Durlabharâja by his military achievement. Durlabha was, in all probability, the

¹ Kiradu inscription. (Unpublished).

² *Ibid.*

³ E.I., Vol. X, p. 20.

⁴ Śrimâl âvasthita mahârâjâdhirâja-Śrî-Devarâja. (Unpublished.)

⁵ E.I., Vol. I, p. 297.

Câhamâna king of the same name, the younger brother of Vigraharâja, who ruled Śâkambhari in the latter part of the tenth century A.D.

After the mention of Devarâja, some lines in the Kiradu inscription are again found broken. I think we miss in them the name of Dhamdhuka. Next comes Kṛṣnarâja. Two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

The first one is found on a pillar of a rest-house, east of the temple of Bârâji, in the town of Bhinmal.¹ It was issued in Sam. 1117=1060 A.D., when Mahârajâdhirâja Śri-Kṛṣṇarâja, son of Dhamdhuka, grandson of Devarâja of the Paramâra race, was ruling at Śrimâla. Its object is to register the facts that five personages, *viz.*, Kirinâditya (Kirâñaditya ?) and Vâni Dhamdhaka, sons of Jola of the Dharkuta family, Dada Hari, son of Mâdhava, Dhamdhanaka, son of Dharañacanâda, and Dharañâditya, son of Sarvadeva of the Thâkhâta race, undertook the work of repairing the temple of the Sun-god named Jagatsvâmi. After the completion of the work a Brahman named Jejâka made at his own cost a golden jar and placed it on the temple. The king Kṛṣnarâja, in order to meet the expenses of the temple, ordered that a certain village in the Śri²....puriya-mândala should pay to it yearly 20 drammas. He also granted for the same purpose a plot of land and a droma from his store (of the crops) in the village of Sacaliyâ. The grant was executed by Candana.

The second inscription,³ dated Sam. 1123=1066 A.D., was found on a pillar of the temple of Jagsvâmi at Śrimâla. It also mentions the name of Kṛṣnarâja as ruling in Śrimâla, and designates him as mahârajâdhirâja. It mentions the names of a number of servants of the officers of religion in the service of the God Cañâsa Mahâdeva, and records the gift of a certain number of drammas by the Brahmans Gugâ and Vâhatâ in favour of the above deity.

The decline of the power of the Paramâra government at

¹ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 472.

² A portion of the name of the province is missing.

³ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 473.

Dhârâ in the sixth decade of the eleventh century A.D., left the Caulukya Bhîma I, the king of Gujarat, free to ravage its collateral branches in Marwar and Abu. Kṛṣṇarâja's military strength was too insignificant to check the onward march of the Caulukyas. He fell a captive in the hands of Bhîma and was thrown into prison. In this terrible calamity he obtained his release through the help of the Câhamânas of Nadol. In the Sundha hill inscription¹ king Bâlaprasâda, the successor of Anahilla, is described as having forced Bhîma to release Kṛṣṇadeva. Bhîma I closed his reign in 1063 A.D. The Bhinmal inscription dated 1066 A.D., referred to above, proves that Kṛṣṇarâja after his release regained his throne and ruled his territory as an independent monarch. He was followed by Socchirâja, Udayarâja and Someśvara.

The Kiradu inscription,² dated Sam. 1218=1161 A.D., already referred to above, was issued during the reign of the last-mentioned prince.

In the middle of the twelfth century A.D., the Câhamânas of Nadol seem to have wrested from Someśvara the territory of Kiradu with the assistance of the Caulukya Kumârapâla, the king of Gujarat. The Câhamâna Âlhâna, a feudatory of the Caulukyas, issued an inscription dated Sam. 1209=1152 A.D., from Kiradu.³

Kumârapâla's victory over the Ajmer king Arnorâja brought a period of great prosperity to the Gujarat empire. But Vigraharâja (1153–1164 A.D.), the successor of Arnorâja, a powerful military leader, invaded the territory of the Caulukyas, and is said to have converted Naḍûla (Nadol) into a naḍavâla (*i.e.*, bed of reeds) and Jâvâlipura (Jalor) into Jvâlâ-pura (*i.e.*, a city of flame).⁴ He also reduced many small villages of his enemy into hamlets.⁵

¹ *Jajñe bhûbhrt tad anu tanayas tasya Vâ(Bâ)laprasâdo Bhîma-ksmâbhrc-carana-yugali-marddana-vyâjato yaḥ | kurvan pîdâm ativa(ba) latayâ mocayâmâsa kâragârad bhûmpatim api tathâ Kṛṣṇadevâbhidhânam || v. 18.* (*E.I.*, Vol IX, p. 76).

² Unpublished.

³ *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 43.

⁴ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LV, p. 41.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Someśvara probably took advantage of this disturbed condition of things in Marwar and regained his ancestral territory of Kiradu with the assistance of the Cāhamānas of Ajmer.

Someśvara appears to have been succeeded by Jayatasīha. An inscription of Jayatasīha's (Jayatasimha's) reign¹ has been discovered on a pillar in the temple of Jagṣvāmi, at Bhinmal. It records that in Sam. 1239, Āsvina, = 1182 A.D., October, in the victorious reign of the Mahārājaputra Jayatasīha, at Śrīmāla, a certain person, *viz.*, Aravasāka Vahiyāna, the Guhila, son of Pramahidā, gave to Vālākadeva one dramma in cash.

The Rajput bard describes Jaitsī as a Paramāra, ruling in Abu.² He is also mentioned as a contemporary of the Caulukya Bhīma II (1178–1239 A.D.) and the Cāhamāna Pr̥thvirāja III, son of Someśvara, the king of Ajmer (1179–1193 A.D.). It is evidently an error on the part of the bard to describe him as the king of Abu, where the Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa ruled from 1162 to 1227 A.D. in unbroken continuity. The bard relates to us an interesting incident³ which resulted in a terrible fight between Jaitsī and the Cāhamāna Pr̥thvirāja III on one side and Bhīma II on the other.

The story runs that Jaitsī had a very beautiful daughter, Ichānikumārī, who was betrothed to Pr̥thvirāja III, and that Bhīma II, hearing about her extreme beauty, determined to have her for wife himself. He sent an ambassador to the Paramāra chief, demanding the hand of his daughter, but Jaitsī and his son Salakha refused to comply with this request, as the princess was already betrothed to the Cāhamāna prince. This infuriated Bhīma, and he ordered the invasion of Abu. Jaitsī, finding his strength quite inadequate to check the progress of the mighty Caulukyas, solicited the Cāhamānas for assistance. The Cāhamānas took up his cause with great zeal, but in the battle that ensued the Paramāra chief and his son were forced to surrender Abu and fled to Marwar. Bhīma then advanced upon Ajmer, and having slain its king Someśvara, returned to

¹ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 474.

² Forbes' *Rāsmālā*, Ed. by Rawlinson, Vol. I, p. 202.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 202 sqq.

Gujarat. But Pr̥thvîrâja took over the government of his deceased father, and within a short time invaded Gujarat with a strong force. He defeated the Caulukyas and avenged his father's death by killing Bhîma.

The above story probably contains some amount of historical truth, notwithstanding the fact that there are in it some gross inaccuracies. Bhîma II, who ruled from 1178 to 1239 A.D., was certainly not killed by Pr̥thvîrâja III. That the Câhamâna king did invade Gujarat about this period, is borne out however by a contemporary record. The Pârtha-parâkrama relates that the Paramâra Dhârâvarsha, ruler of Abu, who was a feudatory of Bhîma II, repulsed a night-attack by Pr̥thvîrâja, the king of Jangala.¹

Jayatasîha's reign came to an end shortly after that event. He seems to have been succeeded by his son Salakha. The fall of the House of Ajmer in 1193 A.D. left the Paramâras of Bhinmal in a state of helplessness. The Câhamânas of Nadol took the earliest opportunity to fall upon them and deprived them of their territory. The Sundha hill inscription relates that the Câhamâna Udayasîmha ruled over Naddûla, Jâvâlipura, Mândavyapura, Vâgbhaṭameru, Sûrâcanda, Râtaḥrada, Keda, Râmasainya, Śrimâla, Ratnapura and Satyapura.² Three inscriptions of his reign, dated Sam. 1262, 1274 and 1305 (=1206, 1218 and 1249) were issued from Śrimâla.³ Nothing is known of the Paramâras of Bhinmal since this period.

¹ Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. IV, p. 3.

² E.I., Vol. IX, p. 73.

³ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, pp. 474-476.

VII.—A Note on ‘Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna’.

By M. Hamid Kuraishi, Esq., B.A., Archaeological Survey of India.

In the recent (September–December, 1930) issue of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Mr. Syed Muhammad, B.A., B.L., has published a lengthy article on ‘Old Muslim inscriptions at Patna’ complete with bibliography, index, etc. An effort has been made by the author to include in the article all available Persian and Arabic inscriptions from the time when the town formed part of the extensive kingdom of Sultan Husain Shah of Bengal to the year 1857 A.C. Much as the work is to be appreciated, certain defects have crept in here and there which it is the object of this note to correct. In the first place there are a number of Printer’s mistakes in the Persian and Arabic texts of the inscriptions, which it is hoped will be duly rectified in the errata. Secondly in some of Mr. Syed Muhammad’s readings of the inscriptions the requirements of Persian grammar and idiom have been apparently overlooked. It is not my purpose here to deal with each individual inscription; but a few of the more obvious emendations have been made in the hope that the author who seems to take a keen interest in Muslim epigraphy may be encouraged to be more careful in future.

(1) *Inscription No. 6 on the Mausoleum of Shah Arzāni*.—The reading شاد جنت ارزانی ‘Beautiful paradise of Arzāni’, neither rhymes properly nor gives good sense; nor indeed does it yield the date 1028 which should be the alphabetical value of the chronogram and which is written in figures at the end of the epigraph. Obviously the phrase should be read as ‘Shah-i-Jannat Arzāni’. This reading would rhyme properly, make the chronogram equivalent to 1028 A.H., and give the full name of the saint at the same time.

(2) *Inscription No. 8 on the Patthar-ki-Masjid*.—In this important inscription some serious mistakes require to be

amended. According to Mr. Syed Muhammad the mosque was built in 1036 A.H. 'by Prince Parvez under his supervision'; but as that Prince died in 1035 A.H. at Burhanpur, the author believes that although the Prince began the construction of the mosque it was finished after his death. As a matter of fact, however, the inscription clearly mentions in the 3rd line the construction of the building by a highly respectable officer of the Prince named 'Nazar Khweshgi', i.e., Nazar Bahadur, a Khweshgi Afghan of Qasur, near Lahore, who later on held a rank of 1,500 under Jahangir and of 4,000 under Shah Jahan and died in the year 1062 A.H. at Lahore (Maathirul Umara, Vol. III, pages 818 ff.). The syllable *Ba* read by the author of the article at the beginning of the name Nazar Khweshgi does not appear on the stone as will be seen from the facsimile published with this note.

The chief reason why Mr. Syed Muhammad falls into this error, seems to be his failure to read the *izafat* at the end of the word *chashm* in the first line of the inscription. Obviously it was Prince Parvez and not the Emperor Jahangir who was the light of the other's eyes.

Lastly the fact that *Khirāmi* (خیرامی) in the last line was the poetic name of the composer of the verses has been lost sight of altogether with the result that the author is faced with a construction quite unusual in Persian and has to give a translation which he would not have given otherwise.

The lines in question read :—

(۱) در عهد نور چشم چهانگیر بادشاهہ

پرویز شاہ عادل و باذل بعقل و رائی

... (۲)

...

(۳) کرد این بنای خاص نظر خوشگی که هست

در پیروی شرع محمد چون کوہ پائی

... (۴)

...

کردم سوال سال بنایش ز پیر عقل
گفت بتو خرامی خیو المقام جامی (۵)

which the author translates as:—

In the reign of the Emperor *Jahangir* the light of the eye,
The just, generous, wise and intelligent Parvez Shah,

* * * *

Constructed this choice building *under his supervision*
and which is

As firm as a rock in the pursuit of the precepts of
Mohammad

* * * *

I asked about the date of construction from the old
wisdom,

Which said 'Say, it is a place *to walk to paradise*'.

In the light of the readings offered by me, however, the
translation of the verses should be as follows:—

'During the viceroyalty of Prince Parvez, the light of the eyes of the Emperor Jahangir, who is just in judgment and generous with wisdom.'

* * * *

This especial (خاص) building was constructed by *Nazar Khweshgi* who is steadfast like a mountain, in obeying the
Law (شرع) of Muhammad.'

* * * *

I questioned the old man of wisdom about the year of
its construction and he replied, *Say O Khirāmi* 'This place
is the best resort'.

The inscription might be *in situ*; but there is nothing in
the inscription to indicate that it was originally put up on a
mosque.

(3) *Inscription No. 9 on the Idgah of Saif Khan*.—The last
but one word in the sixth line of this inscription should be
Khush, not *Arsh*.

(4) *Inscription No. 12 on Haji Chand's Mosque*.—Mr. Syed
Muhammad finds it difficult to make out how Haji Chand was

related to Shaista Khan; but the *Yai nisbat* (یائی نسبت) in Shaista-khani (شاہستہ خانی) leaves no doubt whatsoever that the builder, Haji Chand, was a slave or a personal servant of Nawwab Shaista Khan. This construction is of frequent occurrence in Muslim inscriptions and we find even ruling kings such as Qutbuddin Aibak and Shamsuddin Altamish mentioning the fact that they were the slaves of the Sultan (Shihābuddin Ghauri) by adding the epithet *Sultani* at the end of their names.

(5) *Inscription No. 47 on the Lodi Katra Mosque*.—In this inscription the 2nd hemistich has been read as the 3rd and vice versa. The two couplets, of which the inscription consists, should be read as follows:—

(۱) جو این مسجد بنائید الہی

طفیل شاہ ارزانی بنا یافت

(۲) بتاریخ همایون کلک تقدیر

رقم زد کعبہ ثانی بنا یافت

And the translation would be:—‘When with the help of God, and through the grace of Shah Arzāni, this mosque was constructed, the pen of Fate wrote down on an auspicious date “A second Kāba has been erected”’.

(6) *Inscription No. 72 on Shah Rustam Ali's tomb in the compound of a mosque in the Nanmuhiya quarter*:—

In the third hemistich of this inscription Mr. Syed Muhammad has read Na-Jawānmardam as Najawan Murdam. The translation should therefore be ‘if I have not been a (جو ان مرد) i.e., a brave or an ideal man in deeds, pass thou by me like a brave man (جو ان مرد)’. Mr. Syed Muhammad’s translation ‘if I died unmanly in action’ gives a different sense from that which the composer of the verses intended to convey.

The verse in question reads:—

اگر من نا جوانمردم بکرودار

تو بر من چون جوانمردان گذر کن

(7) *Inscription No. 79 on Kazim Ali's mosque*:—Here again, as in the case of No. 47, the 2nd hemistich has been read as the 3rd and vice versa. Moreover the word *sininash* in the third hemistich meaning 'its date' has been misread as *sina ash*, 'its chest'. The difference is obvious. Again, the closing words of the second line seem to be quite clear on the stone and read (که بود فرق عرش سا) 'of which the pinnacle touches the heavens'. Lastly the alphabetical value of the Arabic line (فولوا وجوهكم شطر المسجد العرام البسيط) which is a slightly altered form of the Quranic verse 143, Chapter II with an additional word (*al-basit*) at the end, comes to 1242 A.H., and is just one unit too much compared with the date given in the closing words of the main inscription which is in Persian verse. It was no doubt with the object of recording the date of the construction of the Mosque in Arabic that these alterations were made in an important Quranic verse.

(8) *Inscription No. 105 on Mir Abdullah's tomb*.—The words which have been read by Mr. Syed Muhammad as '*Amthal-i-wafiran*' 'the richest men who were examples for it' are really '*Amthal-o-Aqrان*' ('امثال و اقران') 'equals and peers'.

(9) *In inscription No. 108 on Mian Khan's tomb in the compound of Shaikh Barkat's Mosque*, the first couplet reads:—

میان خان کہ در عنفوان شباب
بساط حیاتش قضا در نوشت

which Mr. Syed Muhammad translates as:—

‘Mian Khan in the beginning of whose youth,
Death was written on the carpet of his life.’

But (در نوشت) means 'rolled up'; so the verse should be translated as follows:—

‘Mian Khan, whose carpet of life Death rolled up in the prime of youth.’

(10) *Inscription No. 110 on the tomb of Muhammadi Khanam in the Shia cemetery situated near the Gulzarbagh Railway Station*:—

In this inscription the importance of the epigraph has been lost owing to a free translation of the first couplet in which all the important points have been left out.

The line reads :—

بنال فرقى خسته دل بهاتم او
که مرد زوجه خوبت محمدی خانم

which Mr. Syed Muhammad translates :—

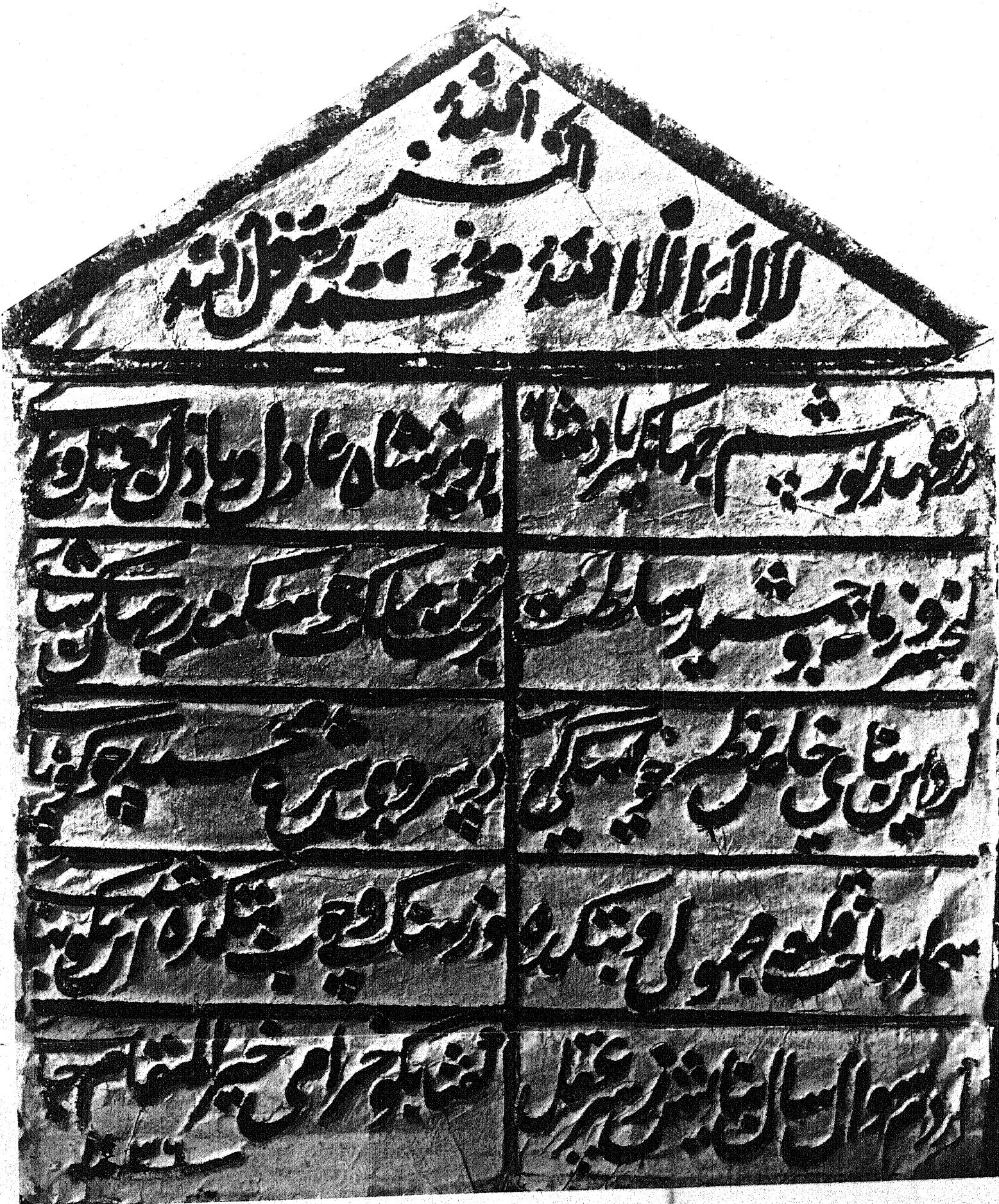
‘ My heart is broken with lamentation for the separation
of the good lady Muhammadi Khanam who is dead.’

The correct translation of the couplet should, in my humble opinion, be as follows :—

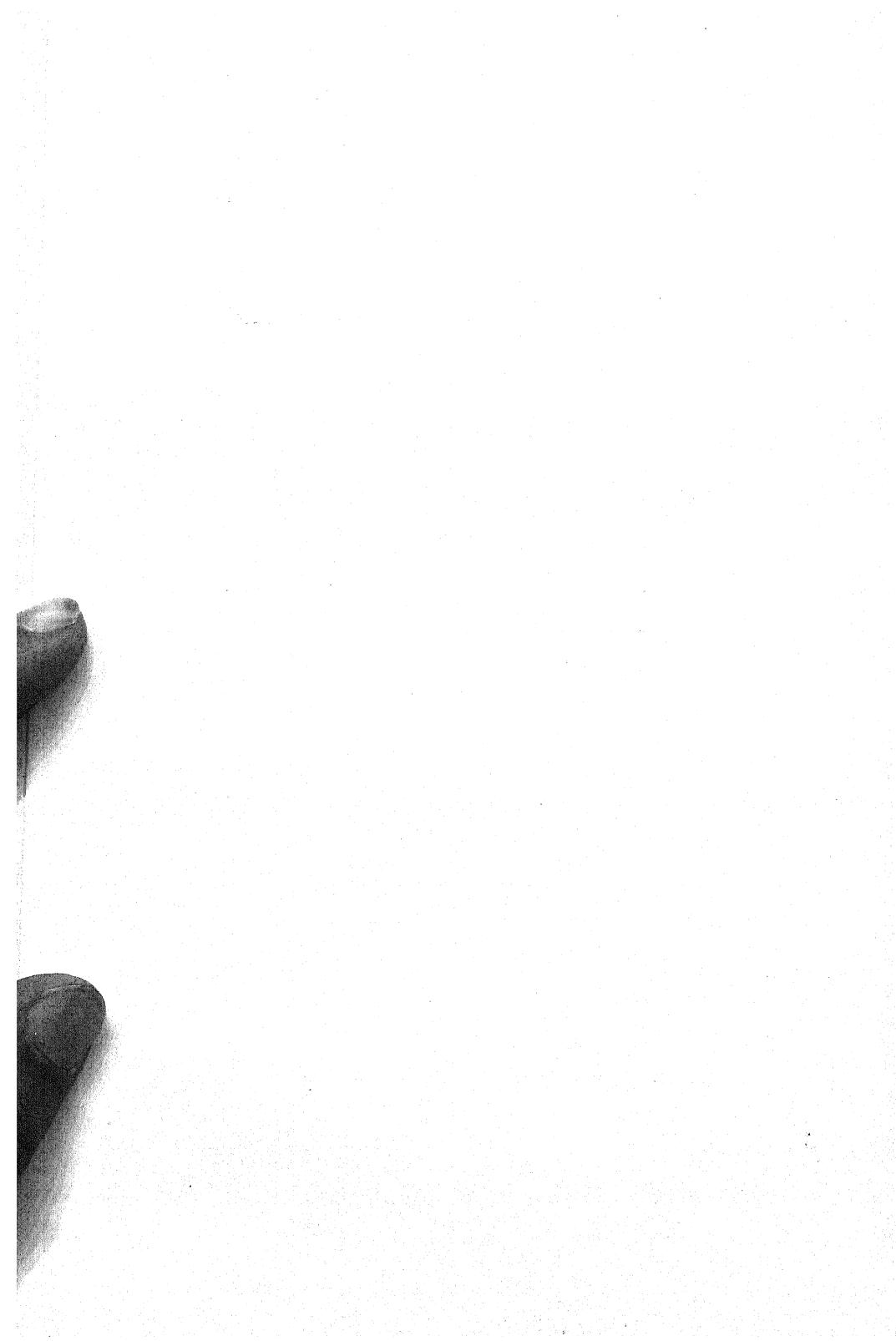
‘ Cry (بنال) O broken hearted Furqati in mourning over
her, for thy good wife (زوجه خوبت) Muhammadi
Khanam is dead.’

Thus the line contains the poetic name, Furqati, of the composer of these verses who was the husband of the deceased lady. The author’s translation does not bring out this relationship and the *takhallus* which invest the epitaph with considerable human interest.

Some of the inscriptions dealt with by Mr. Syed Muhammad are of great historical importance and it would have been better to publish their facsimiles and also to give brief accounts of the careers of the personages mentioned therein.



Inscription on Pathar-ki-Masjid at Patna.



Report of Anthropological Work in 1930-31 :

VIII.—Chōṭā-Nāgpur, the Chūṭiyās and the Bhūiyās.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

During the year ending March, 1931, besides making several tours in the different Districts of Chōṭā-Nāgpur to study the various aboriginal tribes of the Division, I made extensive tours in the Gāngpūr, Mayūrbhanj and Keōnjhar States in Orissā and in the Jāshpur State of the Central Provinces to study the Bhūiyās in particular and the other aboriginal tribes of those States in general. I also paid two visits to the Indian Museum to study the additions to its ethnological and archaeological collections. A volume on the Bhūiyās of Orissā is ready for the press, but owing to financial reasons, the printing has been held up.

While preparing my monograph on the Bhūiyās of Orissā, I had to look up all available previous literature on this interesting tribe. Although I found that such literature as existed was disappointingly meagre, I came across a short article on the tribe by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, a well-known writer of this Province, in which a novel theory of the history and migrations of the Bhūiyās and, incidentally, of the origin of the name of the country now known as Chōṭā Nāgpur is propounded. That article was published in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta in the year 1907.

In that article, the learned author laid down the following propositions:—

(1) That Chōṭā Nāgpur was first colonised by the Bhūiyā tribe about the 6th century, A.D., when the Bhūiyās included or were associated with a class of 'legendary heroes' called Chūṭiās.

(2) That the Bhūiyās were worshippers of the *Nāg* or cobra, and that these legendary Chūṭiās and *Nāg*-worshipping Bhūiyās contributed to the name 'Chūṭiā Nāgpur' for the country they then ruled or dominated.

(3) That the ancestors of the present-day Mündäs and Hös or Lärkā Kôls, entered the Chötā Nâgpur plateau later and expelled the Bhüiyäs and Chütiäs from Chötā-Nâgpur, whereupon the Bhüiyäs and Chütiäs went eastwards through Mânbhûm and West Bengal to East Bengal and Assam, and became the 'Bârō-Bhüiyäs' of Bengal and Assam, and the Chütiäs of Assam.

In the present paper I shall not deal with the question of the original habitat and subsequent migrations of the Bhüiyäs, as this has been elaborately dealt with in my forthcoming monograph on that tribe.

I shall here discuss the different theories as to the origin and correct form of the name 'Chötā Nâgpur', of which Mr. Mazumdar's startling theory is the latest and most novel one.

Three different derivations have been so far given for the name of the country known as Chötā Nâgpur. The first and earliest and generally accepted theory is that the country came to be called 'Nâgpur' after its Nâgbamî Râjâs, and that in order to distinguish it from the more important Nâgpur of the Bhonslâ Râjâs in the adjoining 'Central Provinces', it came to be called 'Chötâ' or the 'Lesser' Nâgpur. The second and later derivation sponsored or rather originated by Dalton and Blochmann some sixty years ago, which found favour for some time, is that the country was named after the village Chütiyâ, a village in the suburbs of the town of Rânchi, which was once the seat of the fourth Nâgbamî Râjâ.

The third and most recent and novel theory is that advanced by Mr. Mazumdar who has attempted to support his theory by various historical, philological, and ethnological arguments. I shall attempt to show in this paper that Mr. Mazumdar's derivation of the name 'Chötâ Nâgpur' from the 'legendary Chütiäs' and the 'Nâg-worshipping Bhüiyäs', like his attempted identification of the 'Bârō Bhüiyäs' and the 'Chütiäs' with the tribal Bhüiyäs, rests on no solid foundation.

If we trace the origin and history of the name 'Chötâ Nâgpur' or 'Chütiâ Nâgpur' we shall find that the name is one of comparatively recent origin, and appears to have been first coined by the early British administrators of the country. The

Muhammadan rulers of India called the country as 'Kokera' or 'Kokhrā', whereas in Hindu times it was included in Jhärkhand or the Forest Country. And it was after the British occupation of the country that the present name Chötā Nägpur came into vogue.

I. 'Nägpur', 'Chötā-Nägpur' and 'Chütiā Nägpur'.

The generally accepted view, which I hope to show is the correct one, is that the country came to be called Nägpur from its present Nägbaiñsi Rāj family and that it was by the earliest British officers in the country that the term Chötā or Chhötā (Little or Lesser) came to be prefixed to the name from about the latter part of the eighteenth century. This prefix was added to distinguish it from the then more famous Nägpur of the old Bhonslā Rājās, which together with what is now Chötā Nägpur proper was placed within the military and political jurisdiction of one and the same British officer. As late as in 1841, we find Lieutenant Tickell, then Assistant Political Agent of the Singbhum District of Chötā Nägpur, in a paper contributed by him to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*¹ referring to the remains of a large city in what he calls 'Burra-Nagpoor' (or the 'Bigger Nagpur', now capital of the Central Provinces) obviously so named to distinguish it from *Chötā Nägpur*, and speaking of Major Wilkinson as the then Resident of *Burra-Nagpur*. This derivation would appear to be the more probable one when we enquire into the different names by which the country has been successively known at different times.

In pre-Muhammadan times what is now Chötā Nägpur was vaguely known to the Hindus as part of *Jhärkhanḍ* or the 'Forest tract', and its people vaguely known as belonging to one or other of the classes indefinitely termed in the Purāṇas and in more ancient Samskrit works as the 'Savaras', 'Pulin-das', 'Niśādas'.

In Moghul times when the country first attracted the attention of the Moghul Emperors, it came to be called *Kokrāh* from the name of the Parganā and village still known as *Khūkrā*,

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, 1841 (*K*), p. 30.

which was then the seat of the Rājā of Chōtā Nāgpur, but by the local people it was generally called Nāgpore or Nāgpur (which presumably was the name given to it by the Rāj family). In three Muhammadan (Persian) works, the *Aini-i-Akbari*, the *Akbarnama*, and the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (the first two written in the latter part of the sixteenth century and the last one in the first half of the 17th century) references to the country have been traced. The name by which it is mentioned in those works is *Kokrah*. In the *Akbarnama* the name *Jhārkhānd* is applied to the entire country from Birbhumi and Pachet (Mānbhum) on the east to Ratanpur in Central India in the west, and from Rohtāsgarh on the north-west to the frontiers of Orissa on the south-east. Kōkrāh, or Chōtā Nāgpur proper, is described as 'a well-cultivated district between Orissa and the Dak'hin, ruled over by Madhu Singh', but 'inaccessible'. And the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* informs us that 'the river which flows through it yields diamonds'.

In some Persian and Urdu documents of the last century, the country is described as 'Nagpur *Khoord*' or the 'Little Nagpur' and neither Chūtiā Nāgpur nor Chōtā Nāgpur. To this day, the indigenous inhabitants of the country generally call the central plateau as simply 'Nāgpur'.

In Official Reports and other publications of the earlier years of British rule,—from the seventies of the eighteenth century down to the forties of the nineteenth century,—we find the country named generally as 'Nagpore' and in a few instances as 'Chota Nagpore' or 'Chotta Nagpur'. In a few cases also we find the name spelt as 'Chuta Nagpore' which is obviously a mis-spelling due to mispronunciation by foreigners of the word 'Chhotā' or 'little', as similar contemporaneous mis-spellings of numerous other names would appear to indicate. In some cases, as I have said, the name 'Chota Nagpore' also occurs. In one instance only to which I shall presently refer in detail the name was mis-spelt as 'Chutea Nagpur'. That 'Chuta' and 'Chutea' were mis-spellings of the word 'Chota' will be clear from the English equivalents of 'Chuta' given by some early writers as 'Little' or 'Lesser'. Since the year 1854, when Ricketts (Member of the Board of Revenue) made his tour of inspection in Chōtā Nāgpur, down to the present

day, the name has been invariably spelt first as 'Chôtâ-Nâgpore' and later as 'Chôtâ-Nâgpur' in all official papers, published as well as unpublished.

The first settlement of revenue with the then Chôtâ-Nâgpur Râjâ (Drip Nath Sahi) was made on behalf of the East India Company in the year 1771 A.D. for a term of three years, and in the *Pâtiâ* or lease granted by the Government and the *Kabuliyat* executed by the Râjâ, the country was simply described as 'the Pergunnah of Nagpore'; and this name was repeated in all the successive *Pattiâs* and *Kabuliyats* and all Government correspondence regarding these settlements.²

The next available reference to the country that I have come across in published letters, despatches, consultations and reports of the British Government appears to be Captain Camac's letter to the Governor at Fort William at Calcutta, containing a 'narrative of the Pallamow and Nagpore countries,' dated Ramgur, 12th August, 1774. In this, too, the country is named simply as 'Nagpore'.³

James Rennell, Major of Engineers and Surveyor-General in Bengal, in sheet No. 8 in the volume of *Bengal Atlas*⁴, prepared in 1779 A.D. and published in 21 plates in the year 1781 A.D., gives the spelling of the name of the country as 'Chuta Nagpur' in the body of the map itself, and 'Chuta Nagpur' in the Dedication.

Rennell, who, as scientific explorer and topographical expert, must have taken care to see that the names are accurately recorded may be presumed to have discriminated between names differing in pronunciation however slightly. When we find him spelling the name of the country as 'Chuta Nagpur' and the name of the village (from which the country has been

² *Vide Papers Relating to Chota-Nagpur Agrarian Disputes* (Published by the Bengal Government), Part I, pp. 53 ff, and also Part II, and *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XX.

³ *Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers, preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India (1772-1785)*, Edited by G. W. Forrest, Vol. I, pp. 1 and 5 (1890).

⁴ *Map of the Conquered Province on the South of Bahar containing Ramgur, Palamow and Chuta-Nagpur*, prepared in 1779.

supposed by some later writers to have derived its name) as 'Chutteah', we may be justified in thinking that in his time, at any rate, the country was not known as either 'Chutteah Nagpur' or 'Chutiya Nagpur' or 'Chutea Nagpur'. The spelling 'Chuta' would appear to represent a foreigner's mispronunciation of the name 'Chötä'. In the same map of Chötä-Nägpur we find 'Doorma' for 'Dorma', 'Suunpour' for 'Sonpur', and so forth.

The next published official report is the *Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company* which was prepared and signed in 1789 and published in London in 1812. In the body of the Report⁵ itself, there is no mention of Chötä Nägpur but only of 'Ramghur' in which District it was then included; and in the Minutes and Resolutions, it is named simply as 'Nagpore'. But in Appendix No. 4, which is headed 'Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal' prepared by Mr. James Grant,⁶ we read, "Pacheet, bounded by Chutea, Nagpoor and Ramgur, the southern districts dependent on the Soubah of Bahar".⁷ And in the Supplement to the 'Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal, from the Moghul conquest to the present time', Mr. Grant writes:—"A third, and elevated adjoining region, still further to the south, forms a part of Soubah Behar, no less extensive than either of the former, as containing near 18,000 square miles, though proportionably of very inconsiderable value. This highland district, including the modern Sub-divisions of Palamow, Ramgur, and Chutea Nagpoor, bounded on the east by Bengal, hath since the age of Ptolemy been geographically named the three Bellads or Cantons in Arabic, and from which its modern denomination of Velyat, may be either a corruption if not derived from another root of the same language, modified to express a foreign dependent Government.

"It is also, sometimes generally described under the appellation of *Kokerah*, more commonly called *Nagpoor*, from

⁵ *Fifth Report* (Reprinted by Higginbotham & Co., Madras, 1883), Vol. I, pp. 1-98 contain the Report on the Finances of Bengal.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-554. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

the diamond mines of that place, as giving most importance to the country, making part of the same mountainous tract of land, barren in almost everything except the most precious jewels in the world; and extending in a devious southerly course from Panna in Budelcund, to Kanjecotah and Golconda; yet perhaps this portion of unfruitful territory might still be more interestingly distinguished, by delineating the character of its inhabitants, who are undoubtedly an original savage race, differing extremely in appearance, religion, language and manners, from the Hindu lowlanders of Hindustan, and whose possession altogether being poor, or thinly peopled, have scarcely ever yielded to the State a revenue exceeding two *lacks* and a half of rupees.”⁸

And again, “Mokhareje or dismemberment of the following Districts and Pergunnahs from their respective Circars, *viz.*, Behar, 5 mehals of Palamow, *Kokerah*, etc.—Rupees 1,09,615.”⁹

Another paragraph reads as follows:—“20 Five do. (pergs.), dismembered or reduced in stating the annual jumma-bandī, *viz.*, 3 pergunnahs of Palamow, *etc.*, 2 mahals of Sultan Gunje, and the *Kokerah*, together rated for original rent.... 4,78,276.”¹⁰

When we find that James Grant in his ‘Analysis’ spells ‘Rajepoot’ for ‘Rajput’ (p. 513), ‘Rajeshay’ for ‘Rajshahi’ (p. 264), ‘Kokerah’ for ‘Khukra’ (p. 513), ‘Rajeboolub’ for ‘Rajballav’ (p. 264), it is clear that the infix ‘e’ in ‘Chutea Nagpoor’ must be a mis-spelling for ‘Chuta-Nagpur’ (meaning ‘the Lesser Nagpur’). In the text of the Fifth Report of the Select Committee itself, we meet with any number of the same infixing of the letter ‘e’. Thus we have ‘Bhaug-lepore’ for ‘Bhagalpur’ (pp. 34, 52, 87), ‘Bundlecund’ for ‘Bundelkhand’ (p. 52), ‘Rajēkoomars’ for ‘Raj-kumars’ (p. 61), ‘Dinagepur’ for ‘Dinajpur’ (pp. 73, 87, 664), ‘Rajeshaye’ for ‘Rajshahi’ (pp. 71, 73, 87), ‘Kokerah’ for ‘Khukra’ (p. 543) and so forth. Further, it may be noted that when Choṭā-Nāgpur itself is dealt with, both Grant and the Select

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 502-503.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 513.

Committee spell it as Kokerah (with a superfluous 'e' inserted in the middle).

Appendix No. 5 of the same volume (pages 555–635) is the "Minute of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Shore, on the Permanent Settlement of the lands in Bengal, and proposed Resolutions thereon, recorded on the 18th September, 1789". In this, too, the country is named only as 'Nagpore'. Thus, in paragraph 135 (page 576) of Shore's minute, we read,—“*Nagpore.—For the explanations assigned by the Collector, in his letter of June the 20th, 1789, I concur in opinion with him, that the Regulations should not extend to this District.*” Finally, in the amended Resolutions as proposed by Mr. Shore and passed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council on the 18th September, 1789, the name used is again 'Nagpore'. It runs:—“*Nagpore.—That the Regulations do not extend to this District, but that the settlement be continued on the present footing and be extended to a period of ten years.*”

Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Buchanan Hamilton), who was for some time Superintendent of the Honourable East India Company's Botanic Garden at Calcutta, was appointed to make a statistical survey of Bengal. Although he did not live to make a survey of Chötä-Nägpur itself, he incidentally refers to the country as simply 'Nagpur' in his *Shahabad Journal*.¹¹

Walter Hamilton in his *Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan*¹², describes the country under the heading 'Chuta Nagpoor (*Little Nagpoor*)' and writes:—“This sub-division of Bahar, is designated by the term *Chuta* (*little*) to distinguish it from the other Nagpoor possessed by the *Bhoonslah* *Maharatta* family, and the name

¹¹ *Vide Shahabad Journal*, published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XI, pp. 281, 288–290. The names given at the end of the quotation are the authorities whom Hamilton consulted. Roughsedge went to Chota-Nagpur in 1808 'to reduce the Raja to a proper state of subjection' and was appointed 'Political Agent' in 1819. Sealy was Magistrate of the District and Broughton was in charge of military expeditions to and through Chota-Nagpur.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 240—Second Edition (1928), p. 415.

(Nagpoor) indicates that in the opinion of the natives the territory contains diamonds.....(Roughsedge, Sealy, Col. Broughton,¹³ etc.)” In his general account of the Province of Bahar (Bihar), he gives the following description of Chôtâ-Nâgpur:—“ Still further to the south there is a third and elevated region, containing 18,000 square miles, though proportionately of considerable value. The highland includes the modern sub-division of Palamow, Ramghur, and Chuta Nagpoor, bounded on the west by the Soubah of Allahabad, by Gundwana and Orissa, and on the east by Bengal. The last division is geographically termed the three Bellads or Cantons, as is also sometimes described, under the appellation of Kokerah, but more commonly Nagpoor, from the diamond mines it contains, or is supposed to contain”. Although this passage is evidently borrowed in part from Grant’s *Analysis*, Hamilton does not follow the incorrect infixing of an ‘e’ in ‘Chuta’.

The same spelling and the same explanation of the name is repeated in Hamilton’s *East India Gazetteer*, first published in 1915.

Thornton in his *Gazetteer* published in 1854, describes the country under the heading ‘*Chuta Nagpore or Nagpore the Lesser*’.

In official correspondence, reports and despatches from the beginning of British rule up till now the country is never called ‘*Chutia Nagpoor*’ or ‘*Chutia Nagpur*’ or ‘*Chutea Nagpur*’.

With the kind permission of the Commissioner of the Chota-Nagpur Division, I searched all the old records in his record-room from the beginning of British rule up to date, and in not a single letter, report, or despatch, I found the name spelt as ‘*Chootiah*’, or ‘*Chutiya*’ or ‘*Chutia*’. In almost all the earlier official correspondence, reports, despatches, etc., down to the year 1831 and, in some, after that, the country is named as ‘*Nagpore*’ or ‘*District of Nagpore*’, except in three instances, namely, in (1) letter dated 24th March, 1808, from E. R. Roughsedge, Captain, Commanding Ramgar Battalion to C. S.

¹³ *Gazetteer of the Territories under the East India Company*, Vol. II, p. 366.

Sealy, Esqr., Magistrate of Ramgar, (2) letter dated 8th June, 1808, and (3) letter dated October 27th, 1808, the last two being addressed to the Secretary to Government from E. Roughsedge, Captain, Commanding Ramgarh Battalion.

In the last letter of these in which Captain Roughsedge says that the authority of the British Government remains yet to be established in 'Choota Nagpore', the name, as we see, is spelt as '*Choota Nagpore*'. And it is interesting to note that in over half a dozen instances, prior to 1832, the name came to be spelt as '*Chota Nagpore*'. These are: (1) Letter dated 13th January, 1819, from G. French, Magistrate of Ramgur to Major E. Roughsedge, Commanding in Sambulpore; (2) Letter from Secretary to Government to the Acting Collector of Ramgur relating to the recovery of arrears due from the Raja of 'Chota Nagpur'; (3) Letter dated the 24th March, 1808, to C. S. Sealy, Esqr., Magistrate of Ramgur from E. Roughsedge, Captain, Commanding Ramgur Battalion; (4) Letter dated the 13th January, 1819, from G. French, Magistrate of Ramgur to Major Roughsedge, Commanding in Sambalpur, and (5) Letter dated 15th April, 1819 to Major Roughsedge, Political Agent to the Government, from G. French, Esqr., Magistrate of Zillah Ramgur who informs that "No disturbances occurred in the pargunnah of '*Chota-Nagpur*' whilst I was on deputation in that part of my district"; (6) Letter dated 21st April, 1819 from G. French, Esqr., Magistrate of Ramgur to Major E. Roughsedge, Commanding in Sambalpore; (7) Letter dated the 24th December, 1823 to Government from Major Gilbert (who writes that in 1809 Major Roughsedge was employed in special service in '*Chota Nagpore*').

Thus, we find the country generally named 'Nagpore' or 'Chuta Nagpore' and occasionally 'Chota Nagpur' till the year 1831. But from 1832 onwards we find the name generally written as 'Chota-Nagpur' and sometimes only as 'Nagpore'. In the year 1832, we find J. Thomason, Deputy Secretary to Government writing to W. Dent, Esqr., on the 12th April, (letter No. 970) informing him:—'The Vice-President in Council is pleased to appoint you to be a Joint Commissioner in concert with Captain T. Wilkinson, for the Settlement of the affairs of

Chota-Nagpur and Palamow'. In that year with the exception of three letters (dated, respectively, the 5th June, the 3rd July and the 27th July) in which we find the name spelt as 'Choota Nagpoor' and one (dated the 12th June, 1832) in which it is spelt as 'Chotta Nagpur' and one dated 24th May, 1832, in which it is spelt as 'Chootah Nagpoor' in the address but 'Chota Nagpoor' in the text of the letter, all other letters and despatches of that year and following years that I have examined (several scores in number) spell the name as 'Chota Nagpur'.

By Regulation XIII of 1833, the administration of the Parganas of 'Chota Nagpur, Palamau, Karukdiha, Ramgur, Koruda, Dhalbhum, and portions of Jungle Mahalas' was vested in a new officer designated the 'Governor-General's Agent for the South-Western Frontier Agency' and what is now the Ranchi District came to be designated as the Lohardaga District for which a Principal Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent was appointed and stationed at Lohardaga. Although the official name of the District was changed to 'Lohardaga', we find it still named as either 'Nagpore' or 'Chota Nagpore' in many official documents during the administrative period known as the South-Western Frontier Agency Period. This period lasted from 1834 to 1854, after which the Chota Nagpur Commissionership was created. Of the two well-known official Reports about the history and land-tenures of Chota-Nagpur, one written in 1827 by Cuthbert¹⁴ the then Magistrate of the District, and the other in 1839 by Dr. Davidson¹⁵ the then Principal Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent for Chota Nagpur, the former generally calls it 'Chota Nagpoor', although, in places, the simple name 'Nagpoor' is also used and the latter calls the country simply as 'Nagpoor'.

In 1853-54, Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Ricketts, the then Member of the Board of Revenue, made an extensive tour of inspection in the Districts of the then South-Western Frontier Agency including Chota Nagpur, and his report on what is now the Ranchi District is headed 'Chota-Nagpore'. This Report was published by Government in 1855, in the *Selections from*

¹⁴ *Chota-Nagpore Agrarian Reports, Part II*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵ *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 1-34.

the Records of the Bengal Government. Ricketts' Report on 'Chota Nagpore' begins thus:—"The Lohardugga Division of Chota Nagpore comprises an area of about 7,346 square miles and contains 6,78,759 inhabitants. It contains but two Estates,—Nagpore, the property of the Nagpore Rajah, and Palamow, the property of the Government, purchased at a sale for arrears of revenue in 1813".¹⁶ Of the cultivators of the District, Ricketts writes:—"The cultivators are, generally speaking, Coles (Moondeeas, Kureas and Oorwans) and among them some may be found equal in intelligence to the Mahomedans and Hindus of the Bihar Districts, and in diligence and honesty their superiors".¹⁷ The lengthening of the vowel-sound as seen in spelling of the word 'Mundas' with the insertion of two 'e's as 'Moondeeas', the spelling 'Ooraons' for 'Oraons' and 'Kureas' for 'Kharias' is worth noting in this connection.

Mr. Ricketts' Report was followed, probably as a consequence, by the abolition of the South-Western Frontier Agency and the creation, by Act XX of 1854, of the Commissionership of *Chota Nagpur*. And ever since then the country has been uniformly designated as 'Chota Nagpur' in all official documents.

In an article 'On the Antiquities of Sarguja and its neighbourhood' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XVII (1848), Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Ouseley, Governor-General's Agent for the South-Western Frontier, spells the name as 'Chota Nagpore'. Mr. Justice Campbell in his '*Ethnology of India*', first published as a Supplementary Number of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*¹⁸ also spells the name as 'Chota Nagpore'. And in all Government publications, the same spelling occurs.

It was for the first time in 1866 that Dalton, in an article headed 'The Kols of Chota Nagpur', though designating himself as 'Commissioner of *Chota Nagpur*', first incidentally suggested the name 'Chuttia Nagpore'. In the heading and also in the body of that article, however, he throughout spells the

¹⁶ Selection from the *Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XX. *Chota-Nagpore*, p. I. Palamow has been since constituted into a separate District of the Chota Nagpore Division.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁸ *Vol. XXXV*, Pt. II, p. 26.

name as 'Chota Nagpore', but the article opens as follows: 'The country called Chota (or properly Chuttia) Nagpore is the eastern portion of the extensive plateau of Central India'. In the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1869*, Babu Rakhal Das Halder, Special Commissioner, contributes 'Notes on a Copper-plate Inscription in the possession of certain Kols at (Chota) Nagpur', and in the body of the 'Notes' he uniformly spells the name as 'Chota Nagpur'. In 1870, the geologist Mr. V. Ball, who made extensive tours in the country spelt the name as 'Chota Nagpur'¹⁹.

It was in 1871 that, for the first time, we find the name spelt as 'Chutia-Nagpur' in three articles in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for that year,—one headed *Notes for Muhammadan Historians on Chutia Nagpur* by H. Blochmann, Esqr., M.A., a second, headed *Rude Stone Monuments in Chutia Nagpur and other Places*, by Colonel E. T. Dalton, and a third, headed *Notes on Three Inscriptions on Stone found in Chutia Nagpur*, by Babu Rakhal Das Halder (who was an official subordinate and literary follower of Dalton). The suggestion probably emanated from Dalton and was developed by Blochmann who was a geographer and who received certain information (as he himself says) from Colonel Dalton. In justification of his novel spelling, Blochmann writes: 'The Fifth Report on Bengal Finances under the East India Company by Grant, or, as he liked to style himself, Sarishtadar Grant, has still Chutea Nagpur; on Rennel's maps, we find Chuta Nagpoor, and only in modern times, do we find "Chota Nagpur" as if it was the "Lesser Nagpur", in contradistinction to the Nagpur of the Central Provinces. But Chutia (near the modern Ranchi) was the residence of the old Rajahs, and was selected as capital by the fourth in descent from Phani Mukuta, "the serpent crowned", the legendary ancestor of the Chutia Nagvansi Rajahs. Abul Fazal calls Chutia Nagpur by its old name, Kokrah.....Grant also uses the name Kokera as an equivalent for Chutia Nagpur'²⁰.

¹⁹ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1870, p. 268.

²⁰ *Asiatic Society's Journal, Bengal*, Vol. XL., Pt. I, pp. 112-13.

I have already pointed out that in Grant's *Analysis* appended to the famous *Fifth Report* the spelling 'Chutea' was obviously a mis-spelling, as we find several other wrong insertions of the letter 'e' in other Indian proper names used by him. And thus Sherishtadar Grant's orthography can be no authority for Blochmann's assertion that the true name of the country was 'Chutia' Nagpore. Nor does Blochmann disclose his authority for the assertion that "the name Chota Nagpur is known to be an English corruption of Chutia Nagpore, and that the name is derived from village Chutia near the modern Ranchi which was temporarily the seat of one of the former Rajas of Chota Nagpur". Blochmann is not known to have ever visited Chota Nagpur or Ranchi, as neither did Sherishtadar Grant. Khukra ('Kokhera' of the Mahomedan writers and of Mr. Grant himself) had been the seat of the Rājās of Chōtā-Nägpur for several generations and it was still the capital when the Mahomedan rulers of Delhi first came in contact with the country which ever since then came to be known to the Mahomedan rulers as 'Khukra' (mis-spelt 'Kokera' or 'Kokhra') and to the Mahomedan and Early British rulers as both Khukra or 'Kokerah' and more commonly as 'Nagpur'. Although the Rājā's seat was removed from Khukra to another place called Doesa about the year 1685 A.D., and thence again successively to Bharno and Palkote where the first British officers found the Rājā's seat, the name 'Kokrah' or 'Kokerah' was officially employed until the beginning of the British Government. The first British officers simply used the name 'Nagpoor'. It is significant that it is only after the advent of the British Government who employed one and the same officer as Political Agent for the South-Western Frontier Agency whose jurisdiction extended from Chōtā Nägpur to part of the Central Provinces that the name Chōtā Nägpur came to be first applied to what was till then known simply as 'Nagpur' in order to distinguish it from the more important Nagpur in the Central Provinces. I have already noted that we find the name 'Burra Nagpoor' sometimes applied in official documents to Nagpur in the Central Provinces.

As we have seen, it was Dalton who, though in his earlier writings he spelt the name as 'Chota Nagpur', first suggested, in 1866, that the proper spelling should be 'Chutia Nagpur', but did not then adopt that spelling himself. He was obviously strengthened in his view by the opinion of the geographer Blochmann, and in his subsequent contributions to Journals and in his *Ethnology of Bengal* he boldly adopted the new spelling. And Blochmann and Dalton were blindly followed by some other distinguished writers such as the geologist Ball, the historian Hunter, and the ethnologist Risley. The authors of the *Ranchi Settlement Report* (1914) and of the *Ranchi District Gazetteer* (1917), though they spell the name as 'Chötā Nägpur', suggest, without assigning any reasons, that the derivation of the name from village 'Chutia' may be probable. The author of the *District Gazetteer* is mistaken in thinking that Chutia 'is reputed to be the original home of the Nagbansi Chiefs', for the reputed original home was a village named Sutiambē, and he himself notes at page 260 of the Gazetteer, that 'Sutiambé is said to have been the seat of the family for four generations, the fourth Raja, Partab Rai, moving to Chutia, but the traces of an ancient palace (*i.e.*, at Sutiambé) appear to indicate a longer period of occupation'.

Thus, all available evidence points to 'Chötā Nägpur' and not 'Chutia Nagpur', being the proper and correct spelling of the name of the country which until the British occupation of the country and for some time after it, was simply called 'Nagpur'. It may be noted that the indigenous inhabitants of the Ranchi District still call the country as simply 'Nägpür'.

However that may be, whether Grant's orthography of the name was a mis-spelling due to mispronunciation by a foreigner who never visited Chötā-Nägpur, and the generally accepted derivation of the name as 'Chötā' or 'Lesser' Nägpur be correct, or whether Blochmann's spelling and his derivation of the name from village 'Chutia' be correct, neither of the two derivations would go to support Mr. Mazumdar's derivation of the name from a legendary class of heroes of the name of 'Chutias' and the 'Nag-worshipping Bhuiyas'. This derivation

has neither history nor tradition nor folk-etymology in its favour.

II. The Chütiyäas, the Bhüiyäas, and Chöta-Nägpur.

Mr. B. C. Mazumdar has opined that the Bhüiyäas with the Chütiyäas were the earliest inhabitants of Chöta Nägpur, and that the Mundäs pushed them from the central plateau (Ranchi District) of Chöta Nägpur to Mänbhüm whence some sections of them went to Bengal and Assam²¹, and the Hös or the Lärkä Köls pushed the remaining sections from Singbhüm in the south of Chöta Nägpur to Utkala or Orissa. This account of the early history of Chöta Nägpur and the past migrations of the Bhtuiyäas would appear to be as unfounded and untenable as the supposed derivation of the name of Chöta Nägpur from the Chütiyäas and the Bhüiyäas.

Within my thirty years of investigation into the ethnology of the different tribes of Chöta Nagpur I have never heard of any mention of the name of a tribe or a class of 'heroes' of the name of Chütiyäas, except that among the several hundred clans or septs into which the Mundä tribe is divided, there is an insignificant clan of the name of *Chuṭiā* (small rat). It is worth noting that in the list of clan names of the Mundäs given in the Family Annals the Nägbarsi family the Chütiā clan is not mentioned at all, nor is there any mention of the Bhüiyäas²². I do not know if Mr. Mazumdar had in his mind the legend referred to by me in *The Mundäs and Their Country*²³ which speaks of the appointment of one Sutiā Mundä as the tribal headman or *Pradhan* (corrupted into *Pähän*, meaning 'priest') of the tribe during their migrations and their settlement on the Chöta Nägpur plateau, then infested with *Näg* (cobra) snakes which they destroyed, and thereafter the country coming to be named as *Sutiā Näg Khand* after their legendary leader Sutiā Pähän. After giving two other more genuine traditions of their

²¹ *Modern Review* for 1907, pp.

Aborigines of Central India, p. 31.

²² See *Man in India*, Vol. VIII, pp. 259-293.

²³ *Appendix I*, p. xii.

migrations, I cited that legend, for what it was worth, with these words of preface:—‘More ambitious, though obviously *less authentic*, is the following legend which was communicated to us by a Mundā convert to Christianity.... The influence of a knowledge of Bible History and of the early European accounts of the Kolarian tribes is patent on the face of the legend’. It might be added that the inveterate attitude of the Mündäs to harp on their lost proprietary rights in their country is partly responsible for portions of the legend which I then merely characterised as its ‘excrencences’ such as the origin of the name of the country. But even in this legend there is no mention of any tribe or sub-tribe of the name of Chütiās. Nor, as I said, is there any tradition whatsoever among the Mündäs or the Nāgbamši Rāj family²⁴ of Chötā Nāgpur or, in fact, amongst any section of the population of Chötā Nāgpur, of the past dominance or even existence (apart from the name of an insignificant Munda clan) of any tribe of the name of Chütiās in the country.

Nor does there appear to be any justification for the view that the Bhüiyäs occupied the Chötā Nagpur plateau before the Mündäs entered the plateau.

I do not know what reasons Mr. Mazumdar has for his assertion that the Bhüiyäs and Chütiās had established their sovereignty over ‘Chütiā Nāgpur’ and that the Mündäs and Lärka Kōls agree in their tradition that they established their colonies by driving out the Bhüiyäs. This may, to some extent, be true of the Hōs in the western and southern parts of the Singbhum District, which adjoin the ÖriSSā States of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj. But so far as Chötā Nāgpur proper or the central plateau or the Rānchi District is concerned, the uniform traditions of the Mündäs speak of an ancient and powerful race called the Asūrs²⁵ as having occupied the country before the

²⁴ Risley in his *Trades and Castes* (Vol. II, pp. 102-9) gives a list of as many as 339 sept or clan names, but even those are by no means exhaustive. I have collected a number of additional clan names.

²⁵ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, I, 229 ff., VI, 393 ff., X.

Mündäs came, and their male population as having been destroyed by a stratagem by the Mündäs. Many Mündäs whom I have questioned about it resent the suggestion that the Bhüiyä families occupied the country before them. And even the Bhüiyä families now living on the Chötā Nägpur plateau do not lay any claim to have been the original reclaimers of the soil there, much less to any predominance in the land in the past.

All investigators and authoritative writers on the subject such as Dalton²⁶, Hunter²⁷ and Risley²⁸ are unanimously agreed on the priority of the Mündä occupation of Chötā Nägpur plateau. In the *Settlement Report of the Rānchi District* (1902-10)²⁹ we read, 'There is no doubt that the Mündäs were the first comers'. So too in the *District Gazetteer* (1917) of Rānchi³⁰ we are told, 'There is little or no doubt that the Mündäs were the first to come'. The traditions of all the tribes and castes, including the Bhüiyä, of the Rānchi District or the central plateau of Chötā Nägpur agree in attributing to the present tribe of Mündäs the foundation of its earliest villages after the extermination or absorption of the pre-historic Asuras. The Bhüiya families now found in the Rānchi District name either the Singbhūm District or the Hāzāribāgh District as their ancestral home. One very strong argument against the Bhüiyä dominance in the Central plateau of Chötā Nägpur anterior to its occupation by the Mündäs is to be found in the fact that although there are now some Bhüiyä families scattered in different parts of the plateau, no Bhüiyä is employed as a priest to appease the village spirits, or credited with any special magical powers. In fact, such Bhüiyä as are still found in the district generally occupy a very low social position there. All field-workers in Chötā Nägpur ethnology know that its animistic tribes almost invariably employ the present-day descendants of the earliest known inhabitants of a village to propitiate the village spirits.

²⁶ *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 163 ff.

²⁷ *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XVI.

²⁸ *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*.

²⁹ *Final Report of Survey and Settlement in the District of Ranchi*, p. 13.

³⁰ p. 21.

By virtue of their being the original settlers, they are considered to have the best knowledge of local spirits and, as such, to be the most competent persons to propitiate or control them. This is why even in Orāon villages which may contain a single family of its old Mūndā founders, the priestly functions must be performed by a member of such Mūndā family. Similarly, in some of the ÖriSSā States, where the Bhüiyās are among the earliest settlers, we find the Bhüiyās officiating as priests of certain ancient shrines.

Thus, Mr. Mazumdar's statement that the Bhüiyās were 'the first batch of immigrants of Chötā Nāgpur' has no foundation except perhaps with regard to its southernmost district of Singbhum.

After asserting that the Bhüiyā tribe formed 'the first batch of Mūndā immigrants in Chötā Nāgpur', Mr. Mazumdar goes on to say,—“ What is most interesting to us is that [at] the time when these things happened, Kokra was the old local name of Chutia Nagpur, and in Hindu Purans of very late date we find this tract included in what is called Jharkhanda. The name Chutia Nagpur is traced to the tribal name of the legendary heroes—the Chutias who once conquered the country. That once the Chutias had a dominating influence there cannot be doubted. We do not find these Chutias, who impressed their name indelibly on the country, throughout the length and breadth of Chutia-Nagpur..... The Chutias, one may naturally infer, must have been driven away from their old home by the Mundas ”. Again, “ The Chutias and Nag-worshippers gave the new name to the country called Jharkhand by the Hindus ”. And again,—“ Like the Mundas, the Bhuiyas of all the different sects claim to belong to *Nag-Vamsa*..... Under no circumstances will a Bhuiya kill a snake of the Nag species (cobra) ”.

Mr. Mazumdar has not explained how the present Rāj family of Chötā-Nägpur happens to be a Nāg-worshipping Nāgbamśi. The fact that both the Nāgbamśis and the Bhüiyās venerate the Nāg or cobra serpent and claim to belong to the 'Nāgbamś' may prove anything. Many other tribes and castes in India venerate the cobra. If Mr. Mazumdar means to

attribute a Bhūiyā origin to the Nāgbamī Rāj family, because Dalton³¹ writes that 'the Raja of Chutia Nagpur is of Kol extraction', it may be pointed out that Dalton as well as other authorities, such as the ethnologists Risley³² and Russel³³, competent observers like G. K. Webster,³⁴ I.C.S., and Rakhal Das Haldar,³⁵ B.C.S., both of whom were Managers of the Chotā Nāgpur Rājā's Estate, assign a Mūndāri origin to the ancestor of the Nāgbamī family and not a distinctively Bhūiyā origin. True, Buchanan³⁶ assigned a Cherō origin for the family, but the Cherōs have not been proved to have included the Bhūiyās, though both are branches of the great Kōl race.

But whether the Nāgbamī Rāj family might have been Mūndās or Cherōs or even Bhūiyās in origin, or whether future research may find some other origin for them, it does not help Mr. Mazumdar in proving his proposition. For, according to his theory, the Bhūiyās, both Rājā and subjects, were expelled from the country by the Mūndās by about the tenth or eleventh century, if not later, and gave place to a new regime, though the old name which the Nāg-worshipping Bhūiyās and their supposed confederates the Chūtiās gave to the country remained.

Mr. Mazumdar has fallen into error not only as to the origin of the present name 'Chotā Nāgpur', but also as to the time when the change in the name was introduced. As we have seen, the name Chotā Nāgpur was unknown when according to Mr. Mazumdar the Bhūiyās and the Chūtiās were the dominant people in Chotā Nāgpur. In fact, that name was unknown even during the subsequent long centuries of Mūndā predominance or even of Nāgbamī supremacy. In fact, it was after the British occupation of the country that we first hear of the present name 'Chotā Nāgpur' or as Mr. Mazumdar would spell it 'Chutia-Nagpur'.

It would appear that Mr. Mazumdar has attempted to reverse the correct chronology or sequence of the successive

³¹ *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 162.

³² *Castes and Tribes*, Vol.

³³ *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. IV, pp. 455-6.

³⁴ *Papers Relating to Chota-Nagpur Agrarian Reports*, Pt. II, pp. 33-34.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³⁶ Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. II, pp. 460-61.

names by which the country has been known. The name 'Kokera' or Khûkrâ was not known before Moghul times, the name Chôtâ Nâgpur not before British times and the name Nagpur not before the present Nâgbâmsi Râj family became supreme in the land which was long after the Mûndâs first came to the country. And neither his legendary Chûtiâs nor the Bhûiyâs, much less the predecessors of the 'Bâro-Bhûiyâs' had anything to do with Chôtâ Nâgpur or its nomenclature. Thus, Mr. Mazumdar's identification of the Bhûiyâs with either the Chûtiyâs of Assam or of the Bârô-Bhûiyâs of Bengal and Assam, is highly improbable and, like his derivation of the name 'Chutia Nagpur', has neither history nor tradition nor folk-etymology in its favour.

Of the Chûtiâs, Dalton tells us,—“About the eighth century of our era the Hindu dynasty (on the valley of the Bramhaputra) was overthrown by the Chutia or Kachari hordes”³⁷. “The Chutia or Kachari dynasty continued to hold southern Upper Assam and Sadiya and part of Naugaon (Nowgong), where they built a fortified city called Dimapur; but about the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era they were subjugated by hordes of Shans from the South.”³⁸ Again, “I have pointed out the remarkable linguistic affinities between the Chutia and Bodo or Kachari, and this tradition of their having been driven from Upper Assam by the Ahoms is confirmatory of the common origin of the two races, and the expulsion alluded to must mean the conquest of the Chutia”³⁹. Sir Edward Gait⁴⁰ to whose work Mr. Mazumdar refers, writes, “The Chutiyas now number about a twelfth of a million, and are found chiefly in Lakhimpur and the adjacent part of Sibsagar. Their language, which is still known to the Deoris or priestly section of the tribe, is unmistakably Bodo, but their appearance suggests that they absorbed considerable numbers of the earlier immigrants of that race, just as in more recent times they have intermarried with the Ahoms”.

Again, “The Chutias have numerous traditions, all of which point to their having followed a Hindu dynasty in

³⁷ *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 81. ³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2. ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴⁰ *History of Assam* (2nd Edition, 1926), p. 40.

Sadiya or Vidarbha..... The Chutiya legends are full of all sorts of improbable absurdities which it would be useless to repeat, and it is questionable how far even the main incidents which are summarised below, represent real facts. All that we know is that the Chutiya kings were reigning at Sadiya at the beginning of thirteenth century, that there were frequent wars between them and the Ahoms, who finally overthrew them and subverted their kingdom in the early part of the sixteenth century".⁴¹ Sadiya, in the North-Eastern Frontier of Assam is, as Endle informs us, 'the earliest known centre of Chutiya (Kachari) power and civilisation'. Their language belongs to the Bodo⁴² group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese family of languages; their features approximate very closely to the Mongolian type, and Tibet and China are believed to have been their original home⁴³. Tradition names 'Suvarna Giri or the Golden Hill' in the mountains to the north of modern Sadiya as the home of the founder of the Chütiā kingdom.⁴⁴ The present scattered condition of the Chütiās is attributed by Endle to the 'Machiavellian policy of the Ahom rulers' who thus distributed the subjugated race 'in order finally to break up the power of the Chutiyas'.⁴⁵

In all the traditions of Chütiā origin given in Gait's *History* and Endle's *Kacharis* and in W. B. Brown's *Deori-Chutuya Grammar*, one seeks in vain for any hint of the Chütiās having ever been in Chötä Nägpur or anywhere near it. And, as I have said, there is no tradition to that effect among the Mündäs or any other people of Chötä Nägpur.

In further support of his theory Mr. Mazumdar next seeks the evidence of language and writes,— "It is again very curious that some words which are not at all Sanskritic in origin, and are in use in Sambalpuri Oriya are also in use in the far-off valley of Assam, while they are unknown in the intervening province of Bengal". He then gives a list of the following eleven words :—

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

⁴² Endle, *The Kacharis* (Macmillan, 1911), pp. 4-6.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

1 *Jui* (fire), 2 *Au* (an acid fruit), 3 *Karchali* (ladle), 4 *Oda* (wet), 5 *Guda* (dust), 6 *Olag* (bowing down), 7 *topa* (drop), 8 *Dang* (a stick), 9 *Phal* (a portion or side of a thing), 10 *Opra* (unnecessary thing) and 11 *Mealiha* (to get a thing).

Most of these words are, as Mr. Mazumdar must admit, common in Bengali. And as for all of them, the fact that they resemble Ôriyâ words used in Sambalpur does not help Mr. Mazumdar's argument. Most of them are clearly derived from Sanskrit both in Ôriyâ and in Assamese as in Bengali. And for the rest, they may be either fortuitous phonetic coincidences, or may have been derived from some common Prâkrit words, now obsolete.

It may further be pointed out that *Karchhul* is a common word in Eastern Hindusthani for a 'ladle'.⁴⁶ In Bihari Hindi there is a word *Juhî*⁴⁷ meaning 'a kind of fireworks'. The word 'dang'⁴⁸ is a Hindi word used in East Tirhut and Patna to mean 'a short stick'. The word *mealiha* would appear to have affinity with Hindi *milna*, to get (a thing) and Bengali *mela*, to get (a thing).

If any authority is needed, reference may be made to Prof. Jogesh Chandra Ray's *Bangala Sabda-Kosh* (Bengali Dictionary). There we find, *kar-chuli* is given as meaning 'ladle', and derived from Samkskrit *kar*, hand and *chalu*, to move⁴⁹; '*oda*' as only a corrupt form of the Samkskrit word '*ârdra*', meaning 'wet'; *gûdâ* as meaning, powder or dust, and derived from Samkskrit *gûndak* which in Bengali is corrupted into *gûndâ* or *gûrâ*⁵⁰; *topâ* has the same meaning ('drop') in Bengali and is derived from Samkskrit *sphüt* (by metathesis)⁵¹; *dang*, meaning a 'stick' is derived from Samkskrit 'danda'⁵²; the word '*phâl*' is the same as Bengali *phâli*⁵³, an elongated portion or side of a thing, and is derived from Prakrit Samkskrit root *phâl*, meaning 'to split'; *oprâ* is a variant of Bengali *ûpri*⁵⁴ meaning 'extra' or superfluous, from Samkskrit *upari*, high.

⁴⁶ Grierson, *Behar Peasant Life* (2nd Edition, 1926), p. 60.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴⁹ *Bangala Sabda-Kosh*, p. 107.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 389.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 609.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Ōriyā is not the original language of the Bhūiyās; and, further, such Bhūiyās as still live in Chōtā Nāgpur speak Chōtā Nāgpuri Hindi and not Sambalpuri Ōriyā, and according to Mr. Mazumdar's theory, it is the Chōtā Nāgpuri Bhūiyās who emigrated to Assam not via Orissa or Sambalpur but via Mānbhum and Bengal. And as for the Chūtiās of Assam, they are now a bilingual people, whose mother-tongue is not Assamese but Chūtiā which belongs to the Tibeto-Chinese linguistic family.

Mr. Mazumdar's next philological argument is based on the resemblance of two Ahom words similar to Ōriyā words. He writes, 'In Ahom, "mau-pu" is wife's sister, and this meaning has not been shown to be Mongolian in origin. The word "mau-po" or "mai-po" has the meaning "wife" in Ōriyā. "Aoshaw" is an Oriya word which means "shampooing". The prefix *ao* may be a contraction of Samskrit "angan". We get the word "shaw" to mean "shampoo the body" in the Ahom vocabulary, and the Mongolian origin of it has not been mentioned..... Is it not very likely that the Chutias and Bhuiyas who gave these words to their Hindu neighbours of Orissa carried them also to the valley of Assam through Eastern Bengal?' Mr. Mazumdar cannot even point out that the Chūtiās themselves use these two words though they are supposed to have contributed them to the Ahom vocabulary. And even if they did use them, that would prove little. For aught we know, phonetic resemblances like these may be merely fortuitous.

A further linguistic argument advanced by Mr. Mazumdar is based on the name of the priestly section of the Chūtiās of Assam. He writes, "The Bhuiyas in Chota-Nagpur and Orissa have for their priests or wizards the *Dehuris* or *Kalos*. Now, the Baro-Bhuiyas and Chutiyas, and so also some other tribes of Assam, have for their priests or wizards the *Deoris*. That the words *Deori* and *Dehuri* do not differ much, need not be pointed out. Can all these be considered accidental?" Now, it may be pointed out, that the words 'Deori' and *Dehuri* would appear to be derivatives of the Samskrit word 'Deba' (Hindi 'Deo'), a god. In Bengali, *Deula* is used in the sense

of a servant of an idol.⁵⁵ The Sakaldwipi Brāmhans of Bihār have a clan of the name of *Deorahi* or *Deo* and another of the name of *Deodhi* or *Deodhiar*.⁵⁶ The Dravidian-speaking Orāoñs, like the Mündā-speaking Mündās, call a spirit-finder and exorciser (generally a Hindu) by the name of *Deonā* or *Deonīra*.⁵⁷ The Sāntāl of the Sāntāl Parganās and Chōtā-Nägpur call their priest by the name of *Dihri*.⁵⁸ The Hindu caste of Sudhs in the Central Provinces have a sub-caste of the name of *Dehuri* meaning 'worshippers'. A priest among the Bhumias of the Jeypore Zemindary is called a 'Desari'.⁵⁹ *Divar*⁶⁰ is the title of the Dravidian Occhans (also known as *Archakas* or worshippers) who are a class of temple-priests in the Madras Presidency as far south as Travancore. The Ahoms of Assam apply the term '*Deodhai*' to their tribal priests.⁶¹ It is not unlikely that the Chütiyās may have derived the term '*Deori*' from the Ahom name '*Deodhai*' or *Bodo* term '*Deoshi*'. Dalton writes, 'I think I have heard the Kachari priests called *Deoris*'.⁶²

Mr. Mazumdar puts his final philological argument as follows:—"In the District of Sambalpur there is a sect of the priestly Bhuiyas who call themselves *Rikhman* or *Rikhvan* Bhuiyas. What the term signifies they do not know. The Ahoms performed a ceremony at the installation of a new king which was called *Rikhvan* ceremony. As the ceremony was performed by the *Deoris*, I suspect that it was a thing of local adoption by the Ahoms".

Here, again, Mr. Mazumdar is mistaken in his facts. *Rikhman* is not the name of the priestly Bhüiyās nor, in fact, is there any *sect* of priestly Bhüiyās. A priest or exorciser, called in some parts of the Bhüiyā country as *Dihuri*, in some

⁵⁵ J. C. Ray, *Bangala Sabda Kosh*, p. 467.

⁵⁶ Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II, Appendix I, p. 22.

⁵⁷ S. C. Roy, *Orāon Religion and Customs*, p. 254.

⁵⁸ *Santal Parganas Gazetteer* (1910), p. 108.

⁵⁹ Thurston, *Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 238.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 125; Vol. V, pp. 419-20.

⁶¹ Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 73.

⁶² Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 85.

parts as *Kalo* and in some as *Pāhān*, may belong to any Bhūiyā clan, and *Rikhiyāsan* is the name of one of many such 'clans'.

In fact, the Bhūiyās of the Gayā and Hāzāribāgh Districts, and of the northern and central parts of the Rānchi District, who belong to different clans such as *Māhāoār*, *Dāngroār*, *Magāhiā*, etc., say that 'Rikman' or 'Rikh-muni' was the name of the first ancestor of the tribe and identify him with their chief deity or *Bir* known as *Tulsi Bir*. This 'Rikhman' is said to have lived in 'Maner Patna' or village Maner near Patna. Another derivation which I have heard from some Bhūiyās of the Rānchi and Hāzāribāgh districts is that the name 'Rikhman' comes from the Saṁskrit words 'Rishi' and 'Muni' and that as their ancestors lived on roots and fruits like ancient Hindu saints (*Rishi-Munis*), they were so named.

The Bhūiyās of the Mirzāpur District call themselves *Rikhasan-* (or *Rikhman-*) Bhuiyas, and trace their descent from two Rishis or Munis. Thus, we are told,⁶³..... "Their legend in Mirzapur runs that two ancient sages, Moma Rishi and Kumbha Rishi, had each a son known respectively as Bhad or Bhadra and Mahesh. Bhad practised austerities in the forests of Magadha or Bihar, and his cousin Mahesh attended on him. Bhad once sat between two *nim* (*melia azadirachta*) trees, and when he felt hungry ate the bark. The Bhūiyās hence know him as the Nim Rishi. Mahesh went into the forest every morning to collect roots and fruits. Half he used to eat himself, and half he kept for his cousin. When Bhad had spent twelve years in these austerities, the Lord tempted him by sending to him one of the nymphs of heaven. She used to make some *halwa* out of flour, butter and sugar and stick it on the bark of the tree beneath which Bhad sat. Bhad knowing nothing of this used to eat it with the bark which formed his daily food. Finally his eyes were opened and he saw the lady. He fell in love with her and took her to wife, and had seven sons, from whom are descended the Magahiya, Tirvak, Dandwar, Dhelwar, Musahar, and Bhuinhar or Bhuiyar septs. From their descent

⁶³ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1896), p. 71.

from the Rishi the Bhuiyas often call themselves Rikhiasan Bhuiyas. The fruits and roots which Mahesh collected he sowed in the Mirzapur jungles, and since then they have begun to grow there”.

The ‘Rikhvan’ ceremony, to which Mr. Mazumdar refers, was an Ahom ceremony for obtaining long life (from Ahom ‘rik,’ revive, and ‘khoan,’ life) and was generally performed at the installation of a new king, or in time of danger, or after a victory. And the officiants were not Chütiā *Deoris* but Ahom *Deodhāis* (tribal priests) and *Mohans* (Pandits) and *Bailongs* (astrologers).⁶⁴

Thus Mr. Mazumdar’s assertion that “The name Chutia-Nagpur is traced to the tribal name of the legendary heroes—the Chutias who once conquered the country”, has no foundation in fact. There is no evidence that the Chütiās ever came to Chötā-Nägpur or near it. In fact, all authorities agree in holding that the Chütiyäs entered Assam from the north and north-east of that country and not from its south or south-west.

As we have seen, there appears to be no basis for the contention that the Bhüiyäas were the earliest settlers of the Mündä stock on the Chötā Nägpur plateau and were allied to or ever associated with the Chütiās of Assam, and dislodged from Chötā Nägpur plateau by the Mündäas. Nor is there any foundation for the contention that any people of the name of Chütiās were ever dominant in Chötā Nägpur. It follows that the country does not owe its name of Chötā Nägpur to Mr. Mazumdar’s legendary Chütiās. We have already seen that it was from its ‘Nägbainisi’ Rājās that the country came to be called ‘Nägpur’, and it was much later during Moghul rule in India, that the name ‘Kokera’ or ‘Kokhra’ was applied to it in Muhammadan records alone, and that it was either towards the end of Moghul rule or the beginning of British rule that it came to be called ‘Chötā’ or ‘Lesser’ Nägpur to distinguish it from the other Nägpur in the Central Provinces which then rose into prominence under its

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Bhonslā Rajas, and that the spelling of the name as 'Chutia Nagpur' is a mistake for the correct spelling 'Chötā Nāgpur' or 'Chhötā Nagpur', and neither the village of 'Chütia' nor the legendary 'Chütiyas' of Mr. Mazumdar nor the ancestors of the present Chütiā tribe of Assām have had anything to do with the origin of the name.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Chandra-Gupta Maurya as 'Vir Varshal.'

There is a *bāt* or ballad sung in the Punjab by *Dhadhis* who are mendicant-musicians. They play on a one-string (*ek tárá*) instrument or *Sārangī*, and like the ballad of King Rasalu and Sirkap they sing a ballad of a king 'Vir Varshal' by name, *Vir* [= *Vira*] in Punjabi means 'hero'. *Vir Varshal* was the king of the territory on this side of the Ravi and the other side was held by another king who was his enemy but whose daughter he (*Vir Varshal*) ultimately married. The ballad is mainly a love-story of *Vir Varshal* and *Vir Varshal's* war with the king (whose name I have not yet learnt). *Vir Varshal's* friend was *Chānak*. *Vir Varshal* was a Hindu, while his enemy was a foreigner.

Now, here, for the first time we get the popular and pre-imperial personal name of Chandra-Gupta Maurya as 'Varshal' which is rendered in *Mudrā-Rākshasa* as *Vrishala* (*lit.*, 'powerful'). Some gentlemen in the Punjab should record the ballad. The foreigner king was evidently Seleukos.

K. P. J.

II.—A Correct Chronology of Delhi History, 1739–1754.

By Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

[All the dates in this table are given in the Old Style or unreformed Calendar, which was observed in England till 2nd September, 1752, when it was reformed by adding eleven days, so that the day following 2nd September was reckoned as 14th September. France and Holland had adopted the reformed or New Style in December, 1582.]

1739.

- 5 May. Nādir Shāh begins his return march from Delhi.
[*Anand*, 83.]
- 13 May. Muhammad Shāh holds his first public *darbār* after his restoration. [D.C.]
- 18 May. Md. Ishaq Khan appointed *Diwān-i-khālsa* with the title of Mutaman-ud-daulah. Is granted the *māhi-wamurātib* on 8 Nov. [*Siyar*, ii. 99.]
- 21 May. Dānishmand Kh. app. *Khān-i-sāmān* vice Lutfullah.
[D.C.]
- 3 June. Āsad Yār Kh. app. *dūrogha* of *harkārahs*. [D.C.]
- 12 June. Sa'duddin Kh. (already *Mir Ātish*) app. *Khān-i-sāmān* also vice Dānishmand deceased. [D.C.]

1740.

- 3 April. Āsaf Jāh (Nizām) marches out of Delhi; halts in suburb. [*Siyar*, iii. 3.]
- 10 April. Sarfarāz (*subahdār* of Bengal) slain; Alivardi succeeds. [Bengal letter, 4 Aug., 1740; *Siyar*, ii. 104.]
- April. Maratha raiders approach Benares, retreat in May.
[Beng. let., 3 Jan., 1741.]
- 12 April. A'bdul Majid app. *Diwān-i-khālsa*. [D.C.]
- 18 April. Md. Ishaq Kh. dies. [*Siyar*, iii. 3.]
- 28 April. Baji Rao I dies. [*Siyar*, iii. 3, corrected by Sarde-sai, ii. 391.]

27 July. Nizam begins his march from Delhi to Deccan.

[*Siyar*, iii. 3.]

Dec. Alivardi marches against Rustam Jang, deputy governor of Orissa. [*Siyar*, ii. 108.]

1741.

3 March. Alivardi defeats Rustam Jang at Fulwari (near Balasore), and then enters Katak. [Beng. let., 26 July, 1741.]

23 July. Asaf Jāh defeats his son Nāsir Jang near Aurangabad. [*Siyar*, iii. 3; *Sarw-i-Azad*, 179.]

August. Baqar 'Ali seizes Katak from Alivardi's deputy Saulat Jang. [Beng. let., 11 Dec., 1741.]

December. Alivardi defeats Baqar 'Ali near Katak and recovers the province. [Beng. let., 23 Dec., 1741.]

1742.

16 April. Bhāskar Pandit surrounds Alivardi at Burdwan. [*Maharashtra Puran*; Beng. let., 31 July, 1742.]

30 April. Alivardi reaches Katwa fighting. [*Ibid.*]

5 May. Marathas plunder suburbs of Murshidabad;

6 May. Alivardi arrives at Murshidabad, Marathas retreat. [*Ibid.*; Beng. let., 8 Jan., 1743.]

June. Marathas return from Pachet and encamp at Katwa. [Beng. let., 30 Oct., 1742.]

June. Marathas capture Hughli and occupy West Bengal. [Beng. let., 31 July, 1742.]

26 Sep. Alivardi surprises and routs Bhāskar at Katwa. [*Maharashtra Puran*; *Siyar*, ii. 126.]

c. 7 Dec. Safdar Jang (*subahdar* of Oudh) reaches Patna. [Beng. let., 18 Dec., 1742]; he sets out on return about 15 Jan., 1743. [Beng. let., 30 Jan., 1743; *Siyar*, ii. 127.]

Dec. Alivardi, after driving the Marathas beyond the Chilka lake, halts at Katak. [Beng. let., 8 Jan., 1743.]

1743.

5 Jan. Emperor Muhammad Shah falls seriously ill. [*Siyar*, iii. 5; Beng. let., 3 Feb., 1744.]

- c. 10 Feb. Alivardi reaches Murshidabad from Katak. [Beng. let., 15 Feb., 1743.]
- c. 13 Feb. Balājī Rāo (Peshwa) enters Bihar. [Beng. let., 13 Aug., 1743; *Siyar*, ii. 127.]
- c. 8 March. Balaji's envoys meet Alivardi. Raghuji Bhonslē (on invasion) is in Rāmgarh (Hazaribagh.) [Akhbarat.]
- 26 March. Maratha ditch at Calcutta begun. [Beng. let., 3 Feb., 1744.]
- 31 March. Interview between Balaji and Alivardi at Palāshi (Plassey). [Akh.; Beng. let., 13 Aug., 1743.]
- 15 April. Balaji takes leave of Alivardi for pursuing Raghuji. Raghuji goes to Medinipur. [Akh.]
- 24 April. Alivardi at Katwa. Haibat Jang (Deputy Governor of Bihar) is sent back to Patna. [Akh.]
- 20 June. S'aduddin Kh. (*Kh-i-saman* and *Mir Atish*) dies. [*Siyar*, iii. 5.]
- 21 June. Dr. 'Ulavi Kh. reaches Delhi for treating Emperor. [*Bayan*, 205.]
- 23 June. Hāfiẓuddin (S'aduddin's son) app. *Khān-i-sāmān* and *Mir Atish*. [*Siyar*, iii. 8; *Bayan*, 231.]
- c. 15 Aug. Emperor summons the leading nobles from the provinces to Court. [*Siyar*, iii. 5.]
- 21 Sep. Sawai Jay Singh (of Jaypur) dies. [*Siyar*, iii. 5, corrected from Narendra Singh.]
- 7 Nov. Āmir Kh. (*subahdar* of Allahabad) received in audience by Emperor. [D.C.; *Siyar*, iii. 6.]
- c. 13 Nov. Safdar Jang enters Delhi. [*Siyar*, iii. 6.]
- 17 Nov. Safdar Jang received by Emperor. [*Ibid.*]
- 18 Dec. Prince Ahmad married. [*Siyar*, iii. 7.]
- 29 Dec. A comet appears at Delhi. [*Ibid.*]

1744.

- c. 1 March. Bhāskar invades Bengal again. [Beng. let., 3 Aug., 1744; *Siyar*, ii. 134.]
- 11 March. Safdar Jang app. *Mir Atish*. [*Siyar*, iii. 8.]
- 31 March. Bhāskar murdered by Alivardi at Mankarā [*Maharashtra Puran*; Beng. let., 3 Aug.; *Siyar*, ii. 135;

Chandernagor to Pondichéry let., 12 May, in Pondi to Comp., 18 Oct. (N.S.).]

24 Sep. Safdar Jang app. *subadar* of Kashmir vice Asad Yar Kh. [Siyar, iii. 8.]

1745.

c. Jan. Fathchand (Jagat Seth) dies; his grandson Mahtab Rai succeeds. [Beng. let., 9 Feb.]

Jan. Quarrel between Alivardi and his Afghan general Mustafa Khan begins. [Siyar, ii. 137; Beng. let., 9 Feb.]

15 Feb. Emperor issues from Delhi against 'Ali Md. Kh. Ruhela; halts at Luni. [Siyar, iii. 10; Anandram, 204.]

c. 20 Feb. Mustafa Kh. quits Murshidabad for Patna. [Siyar, ii. 137; Beng. let., 11 Aug.]

14-20 March. Battle before Patna city; Haibat Jang defeats Mustafa, who flees away to the west. [Siyar, ii. 142-144.]

April. Alivardi arrives at Patna, chases Mustafa to Zamania, and then quickly returns to Murshidabad. [Siyar, ii. 144-145.]

c. April. Raghuji captures Katak city, besieges its fort Barābāti, imprisons Durlabh-rām (the deputy governor), and occupies all Orissa up to Medinipur. [Siyar, ii. 149-150.]

c. 15 April. Asad Yār Kh. dies. [Siyar, iii. 11.]

23 May. 'Ali Md. Ruhela visits Emperor to seek pardon. [Anand, 261.]

19 June. Emperor enters Delhi on return from Ruhela war. [Ibid., 287.]

June. Marathas enter Burdwan district from the south. [Beng. let., 11 Aug.]

c. 20 June. Mustafa Kh. slain at Karhani (Arrah dist.). [Siyar, ii. 146-147; Beng. let., 11 Aug.]

1 July. Zakaria Kh. (*subahdar* of Lahor and Multan) dies. [Anand, 139.]

c. 20 July. Marathas leave Murshidabad and Burdwan districts, to canton for the rains in Birbhum. [Beng. let., 11 Aug.]

13 Sep. Qamruddin (*wazir*) dislocates his leg. [Anand, 148.]

- October. Raghujī marches from Birbhum for South Bihar.
[*Siyar*, ii. 150-151.]
- Alivardi leaves Murshidabad for Patna. [Beng. let., 31 Jan., 1746.]
- Raghujī plunders Fatua and moves on to S.W. Bihar. [*Ibid.*; *Siyar*, ii. 151.]
- 14 Nov. Alivardi attacks Raghujī near Muhib-'ali-pur. [*Siyar*, ii. 152; *S.P.D.* letter 74.] Running battle for a week afterwards.
- Early Dec. Raghujī attacks Alivardi (on return march) at Bhagalpur. [*Siyar*, ii. 153.]
- 21 Dec. Raghujī arrives at Jhapāidaha (Murshidabad dist.) and burns villages. [*Ibid.*]
- 22 Dec. Alivardi arrives six miles from Murshidabad; reaches Āmāniganj on 26th. [Beng. let., 31 Jan., 1746.]
- ? Safdar Jang's son Shuja-ud-daulah married to Bahu Begam, daughter of Md. Ishaq Kh. I.

1746.

- 3 Jan. Maratha raiders out six miles west of Murshidabad [Beng. let., 31 Jan.]
- 13 Jan. Mir Md. Sharif at Balasore, *en route* to Murshidabad. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]
- c. 1 Feb. Marathas encamped at Katwa for some time past, many of them on Qāsimbāzār island. [Beng. let., 4 Feb. and 22 Feb., 1746].
- c. 25 Feb. Raghujī vacates Qāsimbāzār island, goes to Kamatpur, but continues to occupy Burdwan dist. Mir Habib and Murtaza Kh. near Vishnupur. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]
- c. 4 March. 'Ataullah with a large force is sent to expel Marathas from Burdwan. [Qāsimbāzār letter, 5 March.]
- March. Raghujī is defeated near Rani's tank (west of Katwa), and, on hearing of disturbances in his own kingdom, hastens there. [*Siyar*, ii. 153.]
- April. Alivardi returns victorious to Murshidabad. [Pondi. let., 31 Jan., 1747 N.S.]

c. 10 May. Mir Habib plundering near Hijli. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]

Marathas again out, carry off grain-bullocks coming from Bhagwāngola to Murshidabad. [*Siyar*, ii. 154.]

July. Alivardi dismisses Shamshir Kh. and Sardār Kh. (Afghan generals), who go to their homes in Darbhanga. [Pondi. let., 31 Jan., 1747; *Siyar*, ii. 154 and 156.]

Marathas continue at Medinipur during the whole season. [Pondi. let.; Beng. let., 30 Nov.]

Oct. Emperor promises *chauth* for Bengal, etc., to Marathas by treaty. [Chandernagor let., 24 Nov.; Beng. let., 30 Nov.; *S.P.D.* let., 29 and 49.]

c. 10 Nov. Mir J'afer marches to expel Marathas from Orissa. [Beng. let., 30 Nov.]

Mir Habib takes Rajah of Kanika and family prisoners. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]

21 Nov. Hayatullah (second son of Zakaria Kh.) comes to Lahor and begins to quarrel with Yahiya Kh. (eldest son) for division of patrimony. [*Anand*, 289.]

c. 12 Dec. Mir J'afer defeats Sayyid Nur near Medinipur, but does not pursue into Orissa. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]

25 Dec. Amir Kh. 'Umdat-ul-mulk murdered. [*Siyar*, iii. 14; *Bayan*, 207.]

End of Dec., 1746 or Jan., 1747. Durlabh-ram is released at Nagpur on payment of ransom. [*S.P.D.* let., 46.]

1747.

c. 24 Jan. Mir Habib encamps near Balasore, raising batteries to hold the river against Alivardi's forces; continues there the whole season. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747, 24 Feb., 1748.]

Jan. Janoji approaches from Katak; Mir J'afer falls back from Medinipur to Burdwan, is attacked during retreat. Alivardi hurries up from Murshidabad to Burdwan, defeats Janoji, heads off a Maratha raid on Murshidabad. Janoji retires to Medinipur. [*Siyar*, ii. 157.]

21 March. Hayatullah gets possession of Lahor and imprisons Yahiya Kh. [*Anand*, 292.]

- April. Alivardi returns from Burdwan to Murshidabad.
 Treasonable plot of 'Ataullah and Mir J'afar (who are disgraced). [*Siyar*, ii. 157-158.]
- 9 June. Nādir Shāh murdered. [*Jahān-kushā*, 461.]
- 12 June. Ahmad Ābdāli made king of Afghans. [*Mujmil*, 75.]
- 12 July. Ishaq Kh. II, Najmuddaulah, app. *Diwān-i-khālsa*.
 [D.C.]
- Oct. Alivardi encamps at Āmāniganj (outside Murshidabad) for expedition against Marathas of Medinipur. [*Siyar*, ii. 159].
- c. 10 Dec. Shamshir Kh. and other Afghans at Haibat Jang's invitation leave Darbhanga for Patna; 16—25 Dec., they halt at Hajipur, negotiating with Haibat Jang. [*Siyar*, ii. 159-160.]
- c. 14 Dec. Abdali leaves Peshawar for Lahor. [*Anand*, 312.]

1748.

- 8 Jan. Qamruddin (*wazir*) sent from Delhi against Abdali.
 [D.C.; *Anand*, 313.]
- 11 Jan. Abdali seizes Lahor. [*Anand*, 326.]
- 13 Jan. Shamshir Kh. murders Haibat Jang and seizes Patna.
 [*Muzaff.* 18.] His Afghans plunder Dutch factory at Fatua. [Beng. let., 24 Feb. and 19 Nov.; *Bengal Consultations*, 8 Mar.]
- Jan.-Feb. Marathas dispersed in large parties plundering, from Murshidabad to Burdwan. [*Ibid.*]
- 31 Jan. Prince Ahmad (Timurid) starts from Delhi against Abdali. [*Anand*, 324.]
- 17 Feb. Qasimbazar boats (laden with silk) for Calcutta, under Ensign English, seized by Marathas at Katwa. Janoji then leaves Katwa for Bhagalpur. [Beng. let., 24 Feb.; *Beng. Consult.*, 25 Feb.]
- 19 Feb. Abdali leaves Lahor for Sarhind. [*Anand*, 332.]
- 25 Feb. Prince Ahmad arrives near Sarhind. [*Ibid.*, 336.]
- 29 Feb. Alivardi breaks up camp at Amaniganj for marching to Patna. Reaches Komra (25 miles north of Murshidabad)

- on 14 Mar., and passes Sakrigali on 17-18 Mar. [Beng. Consult., 8, 19 and 24 Mar.]
- 2 Mar. Abdali captures Sarhind. [Anand, 337.]
- 11 Mar. Battle of Manupur. Qamruddin (*wazir*) killed, Abdali defeated. [Ibid., 347-375.]
- 15 April. Emperor Muhammad Shah dies. His son Ahmad Shah is crowned at Panipat on 18th, and enters Delhi on 23rd April. [D.C., Anand, 346-354.]
- 16 April. Alivardi defeats Shamshir at Rāni-sarāi (near Bakh-tiarpur). He then enters Patna and continues there till c. 6 Nov.; thence goes to Murshidabad (arriving 30 Nov.), stays at Murshidabad till March, 1749. [Beng. let., 19 Nov., 22 Dec.; Beng. Consult., 26 Mar.; Siyar, ii. 172.]
- 21 May. Asaf Jah (Nizam) dies. [Siyar, iii. 23.]
- 19 June. Safdar Jang invested as *wazir*. [D.C.]
- 29 June. Sādāt Kh. (Salābat Kh. Zulfiqār Jang) app. *Mir Bakhshi* (with title of Amir-ul-umara) vice Nizam. [D.C.; Siyar, iii. 26.]
- 15 Sep. 'Ali Md. Kh. Ruhela dies. [Gulistan-i-R., tr. by Elliot, 28.]
- c. 15 Nov. Emperor appoints Qutbuddin Md. Kh. *faujdār* of Muradabad, under Intizamuddaulah. [Siyar, iii. 28; Gulistan, 28.]
- 20 Nov. Safdar Jang shot at in Delhi street. [D.C.] He goes out of Delhi.

1749.

- 7 April. Emperor visits Safdar Jang at his house. [D.C.]
- 16 May. Alivardi arrives three leagues from Katak; on 18th enters that city. [Beng. Consult., 24, 27 and 29 May, 17 June, July.]
- 6 June. Alivardi, on return march from Katak, reaches Balasore; hears of Marathas having retaken Katak. He reaches Murshidabad via Katwa, c. 2nd July. [Ibid.]
- 21 June. Abhay Singh (Rajah of Jodhpur) dies. [D.C.]
- 30 June. Dr. 'Ulavi Kh. dies. [Bayan, 272; D.C.]
- 12 Nov. Qāim Kh. Bangash (Nawab of Farrukhabad) killed in battle by S'adullah Ruhela at Dumri.

- 22 Nov. Safdar Jang gets *conge* to go to Farrukhabad. [D.C.]
 29 Nov. Emperor, with Safdar, marches from Delhi to Koil.
 He enters Delhi on return on 16 Jan., 1750. [D.C.; *Siyar*, iii. 30.]
 6 Dec. Mirza Muhasan (Safdar's elder brother) dies. [D.C.; correcting *Siyar*, iii. 29.]
 9 Dec. Salābat Kh. (Amir-ul-umara) reaches Pataudi on invasion of Jodhpur and Jat country. [*Siyar*, iii. 38.]
 24 Dec. Qāim Kh.'s mother enters Safdar Jang's camp. [D.C.]

1750.

- 21 Jan. Ishwari S. defeats Mādho S. [S.P.D., xxi. let. 24.]
 Jan.-June. Alivardi in cantonments at Medinipur. [*Siyar*, ii.]
 14 April. Battle between Salābat Kh. and Ram S.; artillery duel. [S.P.D., xxi. let. 27 and 35.]
 June. Three days' fever epidemic in Delhi. [D.C.]
 c. 27 June. Siraj-ud-daulah reaches Patna, attacks the city, but is repulsed. [*Siyar*, ii. 184.] Alivardi arrives soon afterwards from Medinipur via Murshidabad; falls ill, and starts by boat on return.
 23 July. Safdar Jang gets *conge* against the Afghans of Mau. [*Siyar*, iii. 31; D.C. gives 24th.]
 2 Aug. Nawal Rai slain by Afghans at Khudaganj. [*Siyar*, iii. 31.]
 10 Aug. Marhara looted by Safdar's soldiers. [Ibid., 32.]
 13 Sep. Safdar Jang defeated by Ahmad Bangash at Patari. [D.C.; *Siyar*, iii. 33.]
 20 Sep. Safdar Jang arrives on the Jamuna opposite Delhi. [*Siyar*, iii. 34.]
 Sep. Alivardi recovers after a long illness. [Beng. Consul., 18 Oct.]
 Sep. Salābat Kh. stays in Ajmir, collecting war contribution. [S.P.D., xxi. let. 31.]
 Dec. Salābat Kh. reaches Delhi on return from Rajput war. [Ibid., let. 34; *Siyar*, iii. 40.]
 5 Dec. Nāsir Jang murdered. [D.C.; *Siyar*, iii. 43.]
 12 Dec. Ishwari Singh (Rajah of Jaypur) commits suicide. [*Siyar*, iii. 43.]

Dec., 1750-Jan., 1751. Alivardi marches to Medinipur, pursues the Marathas; indecisive fighting. [*Siyar*, ii. 187.]

? Earthquake in Delhi. [*Muzaffari*, 37.]

? Wooden mosque in Delhi fort (containing Prophet's relics) burnt. [*Ibid.*, 42; *Shakir*, 70.]

1751.

22 Jan. Ghaziuddin Kh. I (eldest son of Asaf Jah) app. Nizam. [*Siyar*, iii. 43.]

Jan. Ahmad Bangash lays siege to Allahabad and Mahmud Bangash invades Oudh. [*Muzaff.* 53; correcting *Siyar*, iii. 35.]

Feb.-March. Alivardi Kh. returns from Medinipur to Katwa and opens peace negotiations with the Marathas.

c. May. He signs a treaty with Raghuji Bhonslé, agreeing to pay *chauth* (12 *lakhs* annually) and to assign the revenue of Orissa to him. [*Siyar*, ii. 187-188; corrected from *Chander-nagor Correspondence*, p. 435.]

c. 23 March. Safdar Jang starts from Delhi against Ahmad Bangash. [*Siyar*, iii. 36.]

c. 1 April. Ahmad Bangash raises the siege of Allahabad. [*Ibid.*]

19 April. Ahmad Bangash and Sadullah Ruhela routed by Marathas and Safdar at Husainpur. [*Ibid.*, 37; *D.C.*]

7 June. Ghazi-ud-din Kh. I app. *Mir Bakhshi* (Amir-ul-umara) vice Salābat Kh. [*D.C.*]

This year the rice crop of Bengal perished entirely through lack of rain. [Fr. factory letter.]

1752.

6 March. Abdali enters Lahor, annexes *subahs* of Lahor and Multan. [*D.C.*]

1 April. Qalandar Kh., Abdali's envoy, reaches Delhi. [*Ibid.*]

4 May. Ghazi-ud-din I. (Firuz Jang, Amir-ul-umara), Nizam, leaves Delhi for the Deccan. Dies at Aurangabad 16th Oct. [*Siyar*, iii. 44-45; *D.C.*]

2 July. Safdar Jang enters Delhi city. [*Siyar*, iii. 45.]

- 24 Aug. Janoji Bhonslé murders Mir Habib. [*Chandernagar Corresp.*, p. 435.]
- 27 Aug. Javid Kh. (eunuch, entitled Nawab Bahadur) murdered by Safdar Jang. [*Bayan*, 273; *D.C.*]
- 12 Dec. Imad-ul-mulk (son of Ghazi-ud-din I) app. Mir Bakshi, with titles of Ghazi-ud-din II, Firuz Jang, Amir-ul-umara and Nizam-ul-mulk. [*D.C.*]

1753.

- 13 Feb. Abdali's envoy is received by Emperor in Delhi. [*D.C.*]
- 17 March. Safdar Jang's agent expelled from Delhi fort. [*D.C.*]
- 26 March. Safdar leaves Delhi city and encamps in the suburbs. [*Ibid.*]
- 4 May. Salabat Kh. joins Safdar. [*Ibid.*]
- 9 May. Civil war between Safdar and Emperor begins. [*Bayan*, 277.]
- 13 May. Safdar J. dismissed from *wazir*-ship. Intizam-ud-daulah (son of Qamruddin) app. *wazir*. [*D.C.*]
- 6 Sep. All day long battle between Safdar and Imad in Delhi. [*Ibid.*]
- 23 Sep. Battle at Faridabad; Safdar defeated by Imad. [*Ibid.*]
- 7 Nov. Safdar makes terms with Emperor and begins his retirement to Oudh. [*Ibid.*; *Muz.* 75.]
- Nov. Muin-ul-mulk (governor of Lahor on behalf of Abdali) dies. [*Siyar*, iii. 50.]

1754.

- Jan. Maharana Pratap Singh dies. [*D.C.*]
- 13 Feb. Soldiers mutiny for arrears of pay in Delhi streets. [*D.C.*]
- 9 March. Khandé Rao Holkar slain at siege of Kumbher. [*D.C.*]
- 8 April. Badakhshi regiment mutinies. [*D.C.*]
- 25 May. Emperor's camp at Sikandrabad surprised by Malhar Holkar; wild panic and flight. [*D.C.*]
- 1 June. Ghazi-ud-din II. (Imad-ul-mulk) app. *wazir vice Intizam-ud-daulah*. [*D.C.*]

- 2 June. Emperor Ahmad Shah deposed. 'Ālamgir II crowned.
[D.C.; *Siyar*, iii. 50.]
- 24 June. 'Āqibat Mahmud murdered. [D.C.]
- 5 Oct. Safdar Jang dies. Shuja-ud-daulah succeeds as *subahdar* of Oudh. [*Siyar*, iii. 50.]

EVIDENCE FOR SETTLING THE DISPUTED DATES.

1739. *Ishaq Khan's appointment as Diwān-i-khālsa*.—*Siyar*, ii. 99 is our only authority for the date, 18 May, 1739, and as it was only five days after Muhammad Shah's public restoration to his throne, it seems very probable. The entry in D.C. that on 3 June, Ishaq as *dārogha* of *risālah-i-sultāni*, etc., received a *bālāband* as '*inām*', puzzles us. Could such a high officer as the imperial *Diwan* have retained his former low office of *darogha* of the prince's contingent? D.C. records that on the same date (3 June) his post of *dārogha* of the gardens in Delhi was given to another man; this was quite proper.
1745. *Mustafa Khan's attack upon Patna*.—*Siyar*, ii. 142 writes that the attack was launched on 'Thursday the 17th or 18th Safar.' But Thursday was 21st Safar, while the 17th was a Sunday. But the author supplies on p. 144 the means of correcting him; he there says 'Five entire days passed in this kind of exchange of fire. On the night of the seventh day, which was the night of Wednesday at the end of Safar, etc.' Now, the last Wednesday in that month of Safar was on the 27th (=20th March, 1745). It should be remembered that in the Muslim almanac the day begins at 6 p.m. and not at midnight as in the Christian calculation. So, in the first statement of *Siyar*, p. 142, the day of the week is correct, but not the day of the month.
1745. *Muhammad Shah's expedition against Ali Muhammad Ruhela*.—*Siyar*, iii. 10 says that he issued from Delhi on 24 Muharram 1158 (=15 Feb., 1745), but halted in the environs for some time. Anandram (p. 204) agrees entirely, and as he was personally present throughout the campaign, there can be no greater authority. Ashub (427) and *Bayan*

(210) give the same year and the next month (Safar), when the Emperor began the actual march, as Anandram too says; and so they really corroborate. Hence, *Gulistan-i-Rahamat* (tr. by Elliot, p. 20) is wrong in saying that the expedition was undertaken 'in the 26th year of the reign 1155,' which is absurd, as Safar 1155 fell in the 24th year of this Emperor's reign.

1747. *Hayatullah's capture of Lahor*.—Anandram (p. 290) writes that the attack began (four days before the fall of the city) on '16th Rab'i-ul-āwwal in 1159 (written in words), in the 29th year of Muhammad Shah's reign.' Now, here the Hijri year, *though written in words*, is wrong, because Rab'i-ul-awwal of the 29th year of this Emperor fell in 1160 A.H. Indeed, Anandram himself supplies the means of correction, as he tells us (on p. 289) that Hayatullah arrived near Lahor on 18 Ziqada 1159, and therefore he could not possibly have attacked that city *nine months before his arrival* (namely in Rabi A. 1159).

The years in this MS. (the same that was used by Sir Henry Elliot's translator, Lieut. Perkins,) are sometimes wrong, even when written in words! E.g., the year of Anandram's visit to the Garh Mukteshwar fair.

1747. *Death of Nadir Shah*.—According to *Jahānkushā-i-Nādiri* (litho, p. 461), it took place on 11th Jamādi-us-sāni 1160 (= 9 June 1747.) *Mujmil-ut-tārikh b'ad-Nādiriya* of Gulistani, ed. by Oskar Mann (p. 15) supports it, and indeed copies from *Jahānkushā* elsewhere too. Anandram (p. 296) gives 'the last day of Jamādi-ul-ukhrā' and *Bayan* (p. 215) '13th Jamādi-ul-āwwal,'—neither of which can be accepted as against the report of Nādir's secretary, the author of *Jahānkushā*.

1748. *Death of Qamruddin wazir and battle of Manupur*.—These two events took place on one and the same day, namely 11th March 1748, as is held by Anandram (pp. 346-375), Ashub (p. 454), *Mujmil* (pp. 108-112), and *Bayan* (p. 232), though the last-named work gives the date as 13th March. Against these, *Siyar* (iii. 19) and *Gulistan-i-Rahamat* (tr. p. 25) place the wazir's death on 11th March

no doubt, but the battle on the 17th and 15th respectively, which is clearly wrong.

Anandram, a Lahor man, gives a daily itinerary of the campaign from the imperialist camp, and is absolutely reliable. An interval of even one day, not to speak of four or six days (as alleged by *G-i-R* and *Siyar*), between the wazir's death and the decisive battle, is impossible, as the historians who have given detailed accounts of the battle all agree that the action was precipitated by the wazir's son (by order of his dying father) 'before the news of his death could spread and take the heart away from the imperial army,' and the fact of the wazir's death was withheld even from the commanders of all other divisions of the army except the wing commanded by the wazir's son. If after the wazir's death there had been even a day's delay in attacking and repulsing Abdali's army, the Delhi soldiers would have left their camp and fled away during the ensuing night.

1749. *Death of Qāim Khān Bangash.*—*Gulistan-i-Rahamat* (tr. p. 30) gives the date as 12th Zilhijja 1161 (= 22 Nov., 1748) and *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* (p. 11) the same month and year but two days earlier, (which may be a copyist's error of *daham* for *do-āz-daham*). The date has given rise to wide divergences of opinion in the district volumes concerned of Atkinson's *Gazetteer of the N.-W. P. Provinces*. Now, it can be proved that the above date is wrong by exactly one year, and that Harcharan Das, in his *Chahār Gulgār-i-Shujā'i* (f. 402 b) is right in placing it in 1162.

The undisputed dates that fix the limits of the year of Qāim Khan's death are the following:—

Death of Ali Md. Ruhela . . . 15 Sep., 1748 (*G-i-R*, 28).

Qutbuddin Kh.'s appointment as governor of Rohilkhand . . . c. 15 Nov., 1748. (*Ibid.*)

Emperor and Safdar Jang's march towards Farrukhabad to attach deceased Qaim's property . . . 29 Nov., 1749.

The death of Qāim Kh. admittedly took place between the death of Qutbuddin and the march of the Emperor.

We know that after Ali Muhammad's death, Qutbuddin begged and secured from Intizamudaulah the faujdari of Muradabad, in order to crush the Ruhelas, and that after making due preparations he went to his charge and was there killed in a battle with these enemies. *Gulistan-i-Rahamat* admits that Qutbuddin's appointment was made two months after Ali Muhammad's death (p. 28) and that after the slaying of Qutbuddin by Dundi Kh., Safdar Jang 'determined to make Qāim Kh. the instrument of his vengeance [on the Afghans]' and secured for him the governorship of Rohilkhand (p. 29). We also know that Qāim Kh. at first shrank from his perilous charge, and tried to come to an understanding with the Ruhelas by sending peace proposals to them, and it was only the return of his envoys in humiliation and failure that made him decide on war, with fatal consequences to himself. If Qutbuddin was appointed about 15th Nov., 1748 (as is admitted by *G-i-R*), where is the space for all these occurrences within the seven days that intervened between it and the death of Qāim Kh. on the 22nd of the same month and year, as alleged by *G-i-R*?

Then, again, it is admitted in this work (p. 35), 'No sooner did he [Safdar Jang] hear of the event [i.e., Qāim's death] than he marched to Farrukhabad to seize his property.' This march began on 29th Nov., 1749, and if Qāim had died on 22nd Nov., *a year earlier*, the interval of one year and seven days would be unaccountable. The normal procedure of the Mughal Government was to send out officers for attaching a noble's property immediately after hearing of his death.

Siyar (iii. 29) just after narrating the death of Qāim mentions the death of Mirza Muhasan, which admittedly took place on 29th Nov., 1749, and therefore Qāim's death could not have been an occurrence of a previous year, to which a different chapter is devoted in *Siyar*.

Lastly, on 10th Zilhijja 1161 (20 Nov., 1748), Safdar Jang, when returning from the 'Id prayer, was shot at and thrown down from his horse in the streets of Delhi and

suspected Intizam-ud-daulah and some other people of the palace party of having been the instigators of this attempt on his life. He left Delhi city in a huff and lived for some months after in the suburbs as his life was insecure within the walled city. The Emperor had to pay him a visit in this new residence some months later in order to placate him. This period of strained relationship was not exactly the time when Safdar Jang could have begged the governorship of Rohilkhand for his own nominee, Qāim Khan.

Khairuddin in 'Ibratnamah' (a very valuable history, though completed in 1806) says that Qaim Kh. was killed in the second regnal year of Ahmad Shah Timurid, which admittedly began in April 1749.

1751. *Ahmad Bangash's siege of Allahabad and Mahmud Bangash's invasion of Oudh.*—Both were undertaken at the same time. The siege of Allahabad was abandoned, after having been admittedly protracted [Siyar, iii. 34], late in March 1751, and therefore it must have been begun at least in the previous January,—which was also the time of Mahmud's arrival at Bilgram on his invasion of Oudh. Hence, Siyar's date for the latter event, 16th Jamādi-āwwal should be corrected to 16th Rab'i-ul-āwwal (as is given by *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 53).

Abbreviation of authorities quoted.

Akhbarat.—*Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-muala*, (Biblio. Nat. Paris MS.)

See this *Journal*, Dec., 1931 number, p. 340.

Anand.—Ānand-rām Mukhlis's *Tazkira*, Pers. MS. now in the Aligarh University Library, (my transcript cited).

Bayan.—*Bayān-i-waqā'i* of Abdul Karim Kashmiri, (my transcript cited).

Bengal let..—Letters from the Calcutta Council to the Directors in London. Also *Bengal Consultations*. (Both preserved in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta.)

D.C..—A Persian chronology of events in Delhi from 1738 to 1798 (my transcr.), described by me in the *Proceedings* of the Bombay session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Jahan-Kusha.—*Jahān-kushā-i-Nādirī*, by Mirza Mehdi, (Bombay litho.).

Mahārāshtra Purān.—A Bengali poem pub. in the *Quarterly Journal* of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.

Mujmil.—*Mujmil-ut-tārikh ba'd Nādiriya* by Gulistani, ed. by Dr. Oskar Mann (Leyden).

Muzaffar.—*Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, by Md. Ali Ansari, (my MS.).

Sarw-i-Azad.—By Āzād Bilgrāmi, (litho.).

Shākir.—*Tazkira* of Shākir Kh., the son of Lutfullah Kh. and paternal uncle of the author of *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, (my MS.).

Siyar.—*Siyar-ul-Mutakhharin*, Persian text, printed in Calcutta, 1832.

S. P. D..—*Selections from the Peshwa Daftār*, published by Govt. Press, Bombay. Where no part is cited the reference is to part xx. ('The Bhonsles of Nagpur').

III.—A Note on certain Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic Terms.

In the *Bhārata-Bhūmi* (reviewed in this issue) the author has proposed some noteworthy identifications.

Aparītāḥ of the Sanskrit works he identifies with the *Afridis* of the North-Western Frontier. This is to be accepted, as both location and name fully justify the identification. Up to this time the tendency was to regard the Purānic spelling as a wrong one for *Aparāntāḥ*. But Mr. Jayachandra is right in his interpretation.

Northern Chola: The author successfully shows that there was a northern Chola according to Sanskrit geographers. Its position seems to be near Gilgit. Mr. Jayachandra points a name on the map resembling Chola, which may or may not be a correct identification, but the fact that there was a northern Chola is established.

Rishika. The most important contribution of Mr. Jayachandra is the interpretation of *Rishika* of the Mahā-Bhārata. Its location certainly justifies the inference that it refers to the *Yüe chi*. It is the name which is given to their language as Ārśi (*Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, p. XI). I think *Rishika* is a rendering of the 'Ārśi country'. But Mr. Jayachandra is wrong to take it as equivalent of *Yüe chi* or *Yüe-ti*. The original of *Yüe chi* should have *g*, *j*, or *v* and *s* or *t*. Kauṭilya¹ gives a Central Asian name—'visī and mahā-visī' (spelt as *Biśi*, *Mahā-biśi* in the printed edition)—which seems to be the *Little Yüe Chi* and *Great Yüe Chi*. Bhāttasvāmin (p. 41, J.B.O.R.S., XI), treats these as furs coming from Mlechchha towns 'in the Himālaya', but he does the same regarding the neighbouring expression *Bālhaveya*, an import of *Sāmūra*, which certainly is the Central Asian fur still known under the same name and still imported from there into India.

¹ Ch. 32.

Kamboja. The Sanskrit writers and Aśoka's inscriptions refer by it to Sistan and the portion of Afghanistan adjacent to it. But there is enough authority to hold that the Hindus knew also a Northern *Kāmboja* on the other side of the Himālaya, i.e., in Central Asia. See, for instance, Rājaśekhara. *Kāvyamimāṃsā*, p. 94. Many of the Sanskrit writers include communities on the other side of the Himālaya amongst the Himālayan peoples.

Madra. The name might be traced in the present *Maṇdra* (Jhelam District), which is a centre of Punjabi soldiers and a handsome population. It is to be seen whether there is any *Maṇdra* caste also.

Jāts. Abū Sālih, the Arab writer on the history of Sindh (discussed in this issue), quoting a Hindu book, says that the original population of Sindh was composed of Jats and Meds under Jayadratha (Jandrāt¹). The Mahā-Bhārata *Yatī* is thus confirmed by Abū Sālih's original Hindu authority.

Mekalā. *Mekalā* of the Purāṇas is the *Maikal* Hills of the Central Provinces.

K. P. J.

¹ Misread *y* for *n* in Persian script.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Mahābhārata—Southern Recension—critically edited by P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.), Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, Ādi Parvan, in two parts, 1,463 pages, 7"×4½", published by V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, 252, Esplanade, Madras, 1931.

The text of the Southern Recension at a hundred thousand Ślokas was, as pointed out by Professor Sastri, the editor, fixed before the 11th or the 10th Century A.D. It is therefore important to have a critical edition of the Southern text. We are glad to see the Editor of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the Tanjore Library taking up the task of editing the text. As to the value of the Southern text in comparison with the Northern one, we have to reserve our opinion until the whole text is edited. Mr. Sastri has already put forward claims in favour of the Southern recension. What may be at present said is that the old view might need reconsideration. We welcome Mr. Sastri's effort and commend the enterprise of the publishers. The printing is excellent and the volumes very handy.

K. P. J.

Bhārata-Bhūmi aur uske Nivāśī ('India and Her Inhabitants') by Jayachandra Vidyālankāra, with an Introduction by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, pp. 410, 7½"×4½", published by the Author from Kamaliya, Punjab, Price Rs. 2/4.

The author has attempted a geography of India in Hindi taking account of ethnology and languages and the factors of physical features influencing race-movements and history. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his *Introduction* commends the labour and insight of the author, which I endorse. The author's view

about the identification of the *Śrī-rājya* with Tibet is an illustration of going astray. But new and reliable matters based on solid research abound in this closely-printed little book.

K. P. J.

A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics. By Surendra Kishor Chakraborty, M.A., Professor of History, Ananda Mohan College, Mymensingh, Bengal, 1931, 7" x 5", p. 242.

The sub-title is given as 'The Indigenous System: From the Earliest Times to the Rise of the Imperial Guptas, Third Century A.D. With special Reference to Northern India.' The book is divided into eight chapters: (I) Evolution of coinage, (II) Evolution of coinage in India, (III) Weights and Denominations, (IV) Metrology, (V) Fabrication, (VI) Relation to State, (VII) Symbols, (VIII) Provenance and Types.

The first impression in glancing through the book is that it is an amateurish work. In Chapter I, opinions well-known for accuracy or otherwise in fairly standard works are quoted *in extenso*, but little-known interesting data are apparently unknown to the author. For instance, the evolution of coinage makes no mention of stone money in use on the islands of Uap in the Carolines, called *fei*: cf. *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics*, vol. ii, p. 869; W. H. Furness, *The Island of Stone Money*, 1910, p. 93. It has a special significance now regarding the use of the ring-stones discovered at Mahenjo-Daro, discussed on p. 62 of vol. i, of *Mahenjo-Daro* (1931), by Sir John Marshall—'Dr. A. B. Cook has drawn my attention to the fact that relatively small discs of quartz and sandstone pierced with a hole in the centre were once used for money in Togoland.' In Chapter IV, the treatment of the question of bimetallism (pp. 78, 80, 96) is obviously inadequate. 'The gradual deterioration' (p. 95) is soluble in terms of Gresham's law that 'bad money drives out good money', (cf. L. R. Ehrich, *The Question of Silver*, p. 8) and contemporary history supplies reasons for such depreciation (cf. also E.

Cardwell, *Lectures on the Coinage of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 10).

The above impression of inadequacy is further strengthened by the author's description of the provenance and coin-types (Chapter VIII). It is not enough to refer to the symbols on the Śunga coins (Chapter V, p. 206): 'male figure with five-rayed head', 'solar symbol of disc', 'five-pointed flames'; an attempt should have been made to discuss this symbol in the light of the statement in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitram*—*Baim-bikānām bimboṣṭhi idameva kulavratam*. Again, in discussing the Jānapada coins (Chapter VIII, pp. 189 ff.) the author should have referred to this regular prerogative of Jānapadas, as proved by the Nalanda seal described by Jayaswal in the *Indian Antiquary* (1928). The established position of Jānapada as an institution may be gathered from the Tibetan book translated from Sanskrit—*Subhagānām Grīvālamkāra Magadha-mahālpeṣu dharmasena-vādī dharmabhogasya kramavitatināma*: in 'La Collection Tibétaine von Canstadt de l'Institut'. *Magadhamahālpeṣu*, 'dans les grandes et petites communautés du Magadha' (J.A., Octobre-Décembre, 1924, p. 337).

In discussing 'Relation to State', the author entirely misses the significance of the temples: "Banking is a very ancient institution in world history. The first banks and bankers were the temples" (*The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, 1930, p. 660).

In short, the book is good enough as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough.

A. B. S.

History of Orissa : From the earliest times to the British Period. By R. D. Banerji, M.A., Manindra Chandra Nundy Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University, Vol. I, pp. 351+XII, 10½"×7", 1930; Vol. II, pp. 456+35 (Index) XX, same size, 1931, total number of plates 152; published by R. Chatterji, Modern Press, 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 20/-+Rs. 20/-.

These two volumes on stout paper and with good illustrations mark a standard in Indian publication. Indian authors used to suffer from inferior work of their publishers. The two volumes before us give satisfaction that material clothing is not wanting for this production of the late Mr. R. D. Banerji.

In the series of provincial histories, the value of which I have already pointed out in reviewing in this Journal the *Kadamba Kula* or the History of Karnataka by Mr. Moraes, the *History of Orissa* will occupy a prominent place. The first volume deals with the Hindu and the second with the Musalman and British periods. It is a political history, but it is so rich in illustrations that it serves also as a history of architecture and sculpture in Orissa. The Kiching Sculptures, excavated by Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda in the state of Mayurbhanja, illustrated in the second volume disclose some wonderful pieces of art. Three of these will rank amongst the best sculptures of the world. The greatest period of the art of Indian Sculpture is neither the Sanchi-Bharhut nor the Gupta (from Udayagiri to Elephanta), but the mediæval from Java to Kiching. It is only in this period when the art-language of Hindu Sculptor reached its noblest expression. It gives me great delight to see that period so well represented in the *History of Orissa*. Mr. Banerji's plates fully illustrate that architecture of Orissa is not Orissan but is only an illustration of the architecture of the period, be its example at Khajuraho, Bhuvaneswar or elsewhere in India, and whether applied to Jaina, Śaiva, or Vaishnava worship. Mr. Banerji in the two last chapters has treated mediaeval architecture and sculptures at length.

Mr. R. D. Banerji has filled up many gaps in Orissan history. He devoted considerable time to this work. Nor was any other scholar better fitted to execute it. He was most familiar with the epigraphic materials, and fully conversant with Muhamadan records. The account of Tungas, Sulkis and Nandas, the new light on the origin of the Bhanja dynasty, the materials bearing on the Kesaris, Karas and the Gangas, now give a connected view of Orissa's past. The British and the preceding periods are deservedly rich in detail. The maps of

Khāravela's conquests and the oversea empire of Kalinga are amongst striking features with which the volumes are replete.

The book is posthumous. A few references have been left unfilled in the footnotes. The views of the author in the appendix on the Rajput origins will not be acceptable, while he has added some illuminating discussions on architecture and plastic art.

The publisher could render no better memorial to that great scholar, the author, than he has done by the handsome execution of the favourite production of the author. Mr. Chatterji deserves public thanks for it.

K. P. J.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, December the 6th, 1931.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (Vice-President).

Mr. H. Lambert.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on August the 2nd, 1931.

2. The monthly accounts for July to November, 1931, were submitted and passed.

3. (a) A resolution of condolence and respectful sympathy with Lady Mullick on the death of her husband, Sir B. K. Mullick, was passed on a motion from the Chair.

(b) A resolution of condolence and respectful sympathy with the family of Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhury in their bereavement was passed on a motion from the Chair.

(c) A resolution of condolence and respectful sympathy with the family of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Hara Prasad Sastri, M.A., C.I.E., in their bereavement was passed on a motion from the Chair.

4. The following arrears of payment to the Society were written off :—

	Rs.
(i) Sir B. K. Mullick	10
(ii) Mr. Adityanarain Misra	6
(iii) Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhury	12

5. Read letter No. 942-E.R., dated August 30th, 1931, from the Assistant Secretary for Government, Education and Development Department.

Resolved: that the Assistant Secretary be informed that since Pandit Nagendranath Mahapatra had actually travelled from Cuttack to Patna via Howrah, and that since this was the most reasonable route to employ, and that since the Pandit had been unaware that Government required him to employ another route, the Council had sanctioned the excess fare of Rs. 8-12-6.

6. Considered the advisability of placing the names of the following magazines on our exchange list:—

- (i) The publications of the Karnataka Historical Research Society, Dharwar.
- (ii) 'Ganga'—Sultanganj, Bhagalpur.

Resolved: that the publications of the Karnataka Historical Research Society, Dharwar, be placed on our exchange list.

7. Read Dr. Sarkar's letter, dated October 2nd, 1931.

Resolved: that, though special permission to read in the Society's Library may be granted to individual students, no general permission be granted.

8. Resolved: that the Annual General Meeting of the Society be held during University week in March, 1932, at a date to be decided later in accordance with H.E. the President's convenience.

9. Passed the B.M. Press bills for Rs. 1,156-14-0 (bills Nos. 2703, 2724-2735) for the printing of the Society's Journal, Vol. XVII, parts 2 and 3.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in
the Society's office on Sunday, March 6th,
1932.**

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (Vice-President).

Mr. H. Lambert.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on December 6th, 1931.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for December, 1931, for January and February, 1932, submitted by the Honorary Treasurer.

3. Elected as a member of the Society Sardar Thakur Kishore Singh Barhut, State Historian, Patiala.

4. Placed on the Society's exchange list the publications of the Archaeological Department, Travancore.

Considered and found unsuitable for exchange the Allahabad University Magazine.

5. Read letter No. 1342, dated January 22nd, 1932, from the Imperial Bank of India, Patna.

Passed a resolution specifically authorising Mr. Sham Bahadur, Treasurer of the Society, to operate on the Society's account with the Imperial Bank.

6. Read and recorded letter No. 355-E., dated January 25th, 1932, from the Secretary to Government, Education and Development Department.

7. Read letter No. 210-H.C., dated January 26th, 1932, from the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, Calcutta.

Resolved: that the Secretary be informed that if the Commission will propose the revision of the list of Christian tombs and monuments in any particular district, the Society will endeavour to find a member willing to undertake the work of correction.

8. Read and recorded a letter, dated January 1st, 1932, from Professor O. M. Lind.

9. Wrote off the arrear of subscription of Col. T. R. Filgate, C.I.E., (deceased).

10. Resolved: that the amended bill No. 65, dated February 19th, 1932, for Rs. 3,309-6-0 from the Government Printing Press be paid.

11. Read a letter, dated February 19th, 1932, from Messrs. Hartsons and Co.

Resolved: that the balance (Rs. 4-12-0) of the bill submitted on October 22nd, 1930, be paid; but that Messrs. Hartsons be asked to amend their bill No. A-823 of February 6th, 1932, in accordance with the rates usually charged.

12. Sanctioned the sum of Rs. 14-9-2 spent in excess of Government's grant for the cataloguing of Palm leaf Manuscripts in Orissa in the year 1931-32.

13. Discussed arrangements for the Annual General Meeting of the Society to be held on March 17th, 1932.

J. L. HILL,

9th March, 1932.

Honorary General Secretary.

1

**Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of
the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held
on the 17th March, 1932, in the Society's
Council Room, the President of the Society,
His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown
Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., presiding.**

1. On the motion of Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Rai the following were elected officers and members of the Council for the year 1932-33 :—

President—His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Secretary—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Bar-at-Law.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board :—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law, *Editor*.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, who are *ex-officio* members) :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcous, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, Bar-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, M.A., D.Litt.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

2. Mr. Sham Bahadur, Honorary Treasurer, presented the annual statement of accounts for 1931-32, which was taken as read.
3. The Vice-President, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, reviewed the work of the Society during the past year.
4. Mr. D. N. Sen proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

J. L. HILL,

Honorary General Secretary.

19th March, 1932.

Annual Report for 1931-32 of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

I. MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Journal on the 31st December, 1930, was 174. In the course of the ensuing twelve months the Society lost one of its ordinary members by death and two by resignation and five subscribers to the Journal: a total loss of eight. On the other hand the names of five new members to the Journal were enrolled. The total number of members and subscribers on the roll on the 31st December, 1931, was, accordingly, 171. Among the life-members there has been no change. Among the honorary members there was one death. Thus the number of honorary members and life-members on the roll on the 31st December, 1931, was 12 and 15 respectively, making a grand total of 198.

II. JOURNAL.

During the period under review Volume XVII (Parts 1, 2, 3 and 4) of the Society's Journal was published, containing 472 pages, 24 plates and one plan: Five plates of the Narsinghpur Charter of Udyotakesari Mahabhavagupta IV, three plates of Ragamala Paintings, nine plates of the Nettabhanja Grant, two plates and one plan of the Sobhanesvara Inscription of Sri Vaidyanath, four plates of the Mandasa record of Anantavarmadeva and one plate of two Brahmi Seals from Buxar. Part I of Volume XVIII is in the Baptist Mission Press.

The Editorial Board is the same as that of the year 1931.

III. MEETINGS.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 27th March, 1931, in the Wheeler Senate House. His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, President of the Society, presided. After the transaction of the formal business the Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A.,

reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. Professor Radha Krishnam, Regius Professor of Calcutta University, then addressed the Society. The subject of his extremely popular address was 'Ancient Idealism and Modern Science'.

Meetings of the Council, elected at the last Annual General Meeting, were held on the 2nd August and 6th December, 1931, and 6th March, 1932.

IV. LIBRARY.

During the year 438 books (645 volumes), of which 7 were Sanskrit, 5 Pali, 10 Hindi, 1 Oriya, and 1 Telegu works, were added to the Library. Of the total 54 were presented, while 155 were obtained by exchange and 229 by purchase. On the 31st December, 1931, the Library contained 5,755 volumes as compared with 5,110 volumes at the end of the previous year. Out of the Mayurbhanj donation to the Library the sum of Rs. 403-5-10 was spent on books during the financial year up to February, 1932, and Rs. 3,054-4-4 was spent during March, 1931.

V. SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS.

The search for manuscripts proceeded steadily throughout the year under the supervision of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri. Pandit Vishnu Lal Sastri was employed in the Darbhanga district and catalogued 858 manuscripts from June, 1931, to February, 1932. He also brought to light some old judgments. During the rest of the time he was employed at Headquarters to arrange his work of the previous year. The Oriya Pandit, Pandit Chintamani Misra, worked in the Feudatory States of Ranpur, Nayagarh, Khandapara and Kalahandi and catalogued 154 manuscripts from October, 1931, to January, 1932. For the rest of the period he was employed at Headquarters to arrange the work done by his predecessors.

The new Oriya Pandit, Pandit Chintamani Misra, was appointed on the 10th March, 1931. His services will terminate on the 9th March, 1932.

VI. GENERAL.

The Society lost its only Indian honorary member, the distinguished Oriental scholar Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Hara

Prasad Sastri, C.I.E., of Calcutta, and a member of the Council,
Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhury.

The following were added to our exchange list :—

‘Kern Institute,’ Leiden.

‘Karnatak Historical Research Society,’ Dharwar.

‘Archæological Department,’ Gwalior State.

The Council Room of the Society has been much adorned with photographic portraits of eminent past officers. The present Vice-President has also made a gift to the Society of some remarkably imposing Himalayan photographs of his own taking.

VII.—The Annual Statement of Accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer.

J. L. HILL,

6th March, 1932.

Honorary Council Secretary.

Statement of Accounts from April, 1931, to
February, 1932, of the Bihar and Orissa
Research Society.

A. The actuals for 1930-31 showed a closing balance of Rs. 1,560-0-8 with the amount transferred to fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 9,781-12-0 ; the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 11,341-12-8 at the end of 1930-31.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 29th February, 1932, the current account closing balance was Rs. 1,809-8-0. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 8,872-7-3, which gives a total of Rs. 10,681-15-3.

The position of the Society is, therefore, financially sound.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realised up to the 29th February, 1932, amounted to Rs. 1,282-1-0. Up to the 28th February, 1931, the realised amount was Rs. 1,967-11-7. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 2,000.

Our realisations from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 1,431-11-1 up to the end of February, 1931. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 1,899-15-0.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 436-7-9 up to February, 1932.

S. BAHADUR,

17th March, 1932.

Honorary Treasurer.

Actuals up to February 29, 1932.

	INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.		Revised Budget.	Actuals.	Revised Budget.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.			
Subscriptions	..	1,282 1 0	2,000 0 0	Establishment	..	1,294 15 8	1,344 0 0
Sale of Journal	..	1,388 12 1	750 0 0	Mithila Pandit	..	1,278 1 0	1,360 0 0
Miscellaneous (a)	..	7,383 15 9	... ..	Oriya Pandit	..	806 9 11	63 12 0
Postage Recovered	..	17 7 0	30 0 0	Telephone	..	225 0 0	225 0 0
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila Manuscript	..	8 12 0	25 0 0	Printing Charges	..	4,406 3 0	7,350 9 0
Sale of Buchanan Report	..	6,455 0 0	6,455 0 0	Postage ..	..	340 7 3	400 0 0
Government Grant	Stationery	..	65 6 0	90 0 0
<i>Opening Balance :—</i>				Library	..	506 15 7	1,000 0 0
Hathwa Fund	..	455 8 1	1,643 14 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	Electrical Charges ..	..	251 10 0	360 0 0
Darbhanga Fund	..	65 7 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,324 10 10	Out of Hathwa Fund	..	.. ..	.. ..
Mayurbhanj Fund	..	837 8 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,036 4 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Out of Darbhanga Fund	..	403 5 10	2,025 0 0
General Balance	201 8 4	4,336 14 4	Out of Mayurbhanj Fund	..	1 0 0	2,086 4 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Interest on F.D.	330 0 0	Furniture ..	..	6,714 6 3	85 11 8
GRAND TOTAL	..	18,103 8 6	21,031 12 8	Miscellaneous (a) ..	..	300 0 0	300 0 0
				Closing Balance (b) TOTAL	..	16,284 0 6	17,736 14 6$\frac{1}{2}$
				GRAND TOTAL	..	1,809 8 0	3,294 14 1$\frac{1}{2}$
						18,103 8 6	21,031 12 8

(a) This includes Rs. 7,345.12.6 received from Allahabad Bank (Fixed Deposit realised with interest).

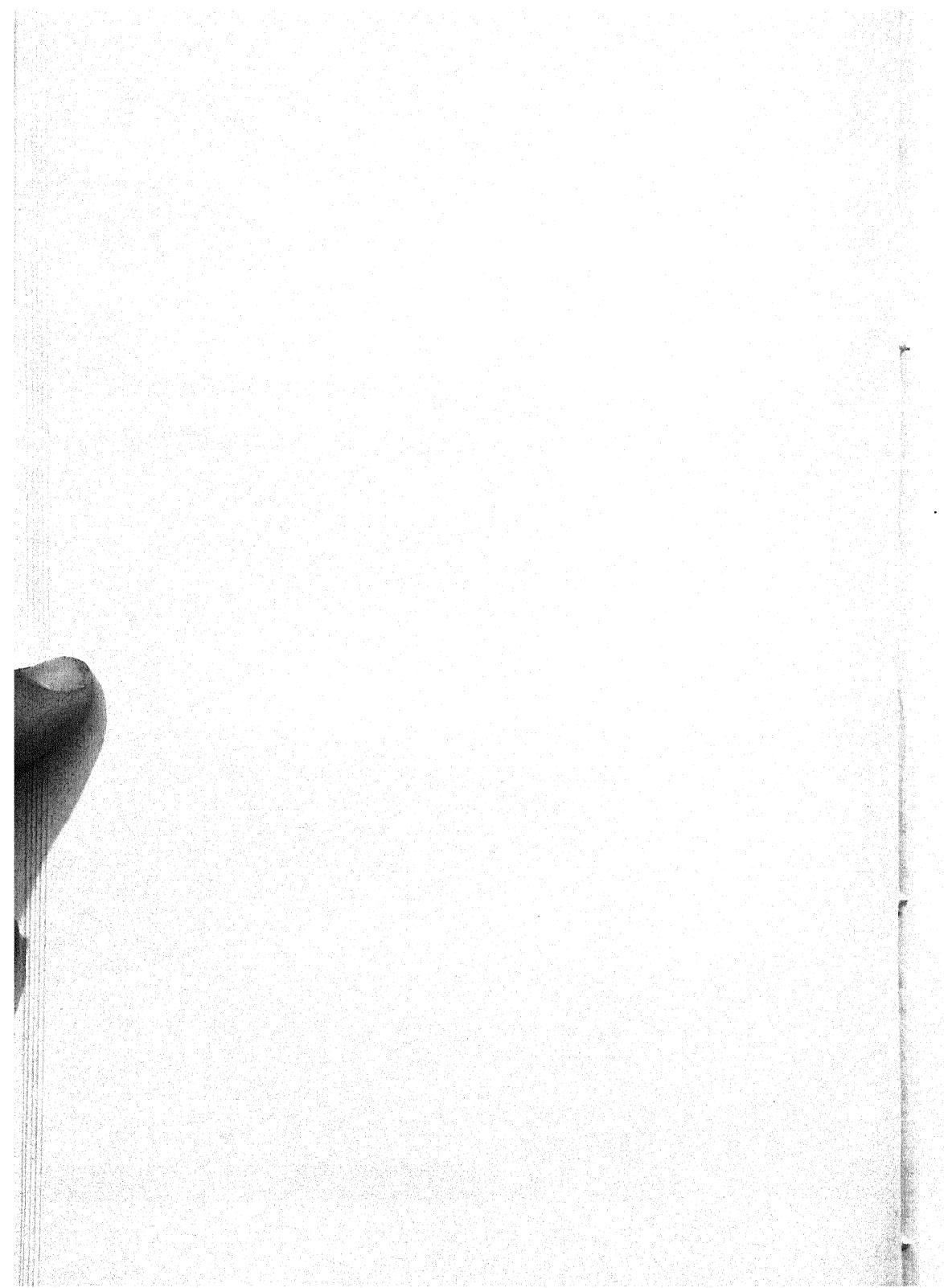
(a) This includes Rs. 6,000 sent to Fixed Deposit, Messrs. Luzac's cheque for Rs. 213.12 returned and Rs. 325 refunded to Government from Library grant.

(b) Closing Balance :—

Hathwa Fund	..	..	Rs. A. P.
Darbhanga Fund	..	..	463 0 1
Mayurbhanj Fund	..	..	74 3 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
General Balance ..	..	..	434 2 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
GRAND TOTAL	..	..	838 1 6
General Balance in Fixed Deposit	..	..	1,809 8 0
Current Account ..	..	..	3,107 0 3
GRAND TOTAL	..	..	3,945 1 9

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r or ri	फ	ph
ॠ	ṛ or ṛi	ब	b
ऌ	l	भ	bh
ॲ	l	म	m
ॲ	e	य	y
ॲ	ai	र	r
ॲ	o	अ	l
ॲ	au	व	v
क	k	श्	s
ख	kh	ष	s or sh
ग	g	स	s
ঁ	gh	হ	h
ঁ	ñ	ল	l
ঁ	ch	ঁ (Anusvāra)	m̂
ঁ	chh	ঁ (Anunāsika)	m̄
ঁ	j	: (Visarga)	h̄
ঁ	jh		
ঁ	ñ	ঁ (Jihvāmūliya)	h̄
ঁ	t	ঁ (Upadhāmāniya)	h̄
ঁ	th	ঁ (Avagraha)	—
ঁ	d̄	Udātta	—
ঁ	dh̄	Svarita	^
ঁ	n̄	Anudātta	—



JOURNAL
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BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

JUNE, 1932.

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JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XVIII.]

1932.

[PART II.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—The Skirts of Nanda Devi.

By the Vice-President.

I.

1. *The Nanda Devi Massif.*

'If heaven's face clouds or clears,
Dawn and noon and sunset are one before thy face.'

The inviolate snows of Nanda Devi, the twin-peaked goddess of Kumaon, rise to a height of 25,660 feet in her western peak and of 24,379 on the eastern side. Apart from its sacred associations, as the highest mountain in the British Empire it has naturally claimed attention in recent years from lovers of mountains; but the only serious attempt which has been made on either of the peaks was the gallant effort of Dr. T. G. Longstaff made from the Gori Valley by way of the Panchu Glacier in 1905, which stopped short at 20,000 feet. Reconnaissances have since that time been made from glaciers on the other side of the mountain, the results of which cannot be regarded as unduly encouraging. Twelve years ago a local engineer contributed to the log-book which is maintained at Phurkiya, at the foot of the Pindari Glacier, an interesting note on the mountains of the neighbourhood, in which he committed himself to the statement that the ascent of Kamet was

practically impossible. The statement stands on record as a warning that to say this of any mountain is rash ; but it may be said with certainty that to ascend Nanda Devi would be a great achievement, to be accomplished after overcoming difficulties greater than those to be met on higher mountains, although the outskirts of Nanda Devi are more easily approached than those of any other giant of the Himalaya.

I will in due course describe the pleasant and easy route to the valleys of the Pindar and Goriganga, in the hope that some of our members may be encouraged to visit these places and to return to them, attracted to attempt something in this field of research and to add to our knowledge of this sacred and adorable mountain. It was with a beautiful sense of fitness that the ancients identified the mountain with the glorious daughter of Himawat, Parvati Devi, bride of Mahādeva. For Nanda Devi, and in particular her eastern peak, is lovely beyond description, claiming adoration whether she is seen from far or near, from some high point on the moraine of a glacier, or filling the heavens in all her glory as she strikes down a side valley of the Goriganga, or lit by the rising or setting sun while the rest of the world is in darkness in the upper reaches of the Pindar. Too often, at all seasons of the year, clouds veil her slopes ; but clear of cloud or clouded she is always lovely.

The mountain mass which culminates in the peaks of Nanda Devi forms the watershed between the valleys of the Dhaoli and the Alaknanda on the west and the Goriganga on the east. The two great peaks, guarded by precipitous cliffs which the passage of avalanches has smoothed and polished, rise from their sea of ice on the eastern side of the massif. To the north of this sea of ice are the peaks of Kalanka (22,735) and Changabang (22,516), while farther west is Dunagiri (23,184), overlooking the Dhaoli Valley and the pilgrim route to the sources of the Ganges. South of Dunagiri the Rishi Ganga, flowing from the edge of the Nanda Devi 'crater', cuts a trench through the massif, which according to the survey map, should afford a means of access to the crater. The map was unfortunately found to be incorrect when the valley was entered from the north by Dr. Longstaff. The mountain may perhaps be ultimately ascend-

ed by this route, but the results of Dr. Longstaff's explorations are not greatly encouraging.

On the southern side of the Rishi Ganga trench is Nanda Ghunti (21,286), the bridal veil of Parvati, south of which is Nandakna (20,700). Beyond Nandakna are the western slopes of Triśūl. The skirts of the massif on the western side are probably the most generally known, from their proximity to the much travelled route from Hardwar, and to the routes from Mussoorie and Ranikhet, the latter of which follows the Pindar Valley from near Gwaldam to Karnaprayag, one of the five great prayags, where the sacred stream of the Pindar joins the Ganges. On the southern side the main massif is bounded by the valley of the Pindar, which flows from the Pindari Glacier. This is the easiest of access of the glaciers of the Himalaya; and probably more people have stood on the Pindari than on all the rest of the glaciers of Kumaon taken together. But for all that, even on this route, one rarely meets another traveller; and far fewer than should do so take advantage of the amenities provided by the District Board, by which the traveller may reach the foot of the Pindari Glacier without even needing tents, by a road almost completely bridged, on which he may if he chooses ride practically from beginning to end. On this side of the massif we find first the group of mountains known from its curious formation as Triśūl, from ancient days the Vijaya of Mahādeva, if not Mahādeva himself. This group, which also overlooks the pilgrim route, culminates in three peaks (23,406, 22,490 and 22,360), of majestic appearance, which from a distant view even rival Nanda Devi. The whole of the southern side of the massif slopes down to the Pindar river, which flows from the Pindari Glacier, and is augmented on its course by the outflow from innumerable glaciers, which are formed at every fold in the mountains. The massif terminates on the south-east in Nanda Kot (22,530), which forms the southern wall of the Pindari Glacier, contributing largely to it by its tributary glaciers, and throwing out a long arm which gradually slopes to lower levels. Sundardhunga (21,858) lies between Nanda Kot and Triśūl; and east of Sundardhunga are two peaks, 21,624 on its north-east, and 20,740 rising from the slopes of Nanda Kot, between which

lies Traill's Pass, by which a passage has been found, over the Pindari Glacier, to the Lwanl Glacier and the Goriganga Valley.

On the east the massif slopes steeply down to the valley of the Goriganga, which takes its rise in the Milam Glacier and in the glaciers north of Doong. The Milam Glacier flows down from two great peaks, 22,940 and 23,320, on the north-east of the massif, fed by subsidiary glaciers throughout its course until its snout is reached at about 12,000 feet, a little above the village of Milam. From there until the river reaches Baugdiar, it is augmented by the outflow of glaciers from Nanda Devi, the Panchu and smaller glaciers on the south of it; and by the Lwanl, Salung and Poting Glaciers from the slopes of Nanda Kot.

A high ridge bounds the Milam Glacier on the north, of which a branch runs south-east to form the eastern side of the Milam Glacier, culminating in an unnamed peak 22,400 feet in height. The ridge on the north continues until, after the depression which forms the Untadhura Pass (17,590), it turns to the south-east and enters Nepal. South of the Untadhura Pass, glaciers on both sides form one of the sources of the Goriganga, which may be regarded as the eastern boundary of the Nanda Devi Massif. On the north, the Girthi river rises close to the Untadhura Pass, and divides the main Himalayan Range from the Zaskar Range and Tibet. The glaciers of the upper Girthi Valley are short and steep, heavily crevassed, with a small discharge of water. The Girthi flows westward in a torrential stream, between precipitous cliffs, until it joins the Dhauli, which forms the western boundary of the Nanda Devi mountain mass; and the passage of the valley is difficult but not impracticable.

The history of exploration in these valleys is interesting. Although from the earliest times there must have been traffic between Tibet and the upper valley of the Ganges by the Niti and Mana Passes, an idea prevailed until 1808 that the Ganges rose near Kailas in Tibet, and that it passed over the Himalaya in a great cataract. Maps of the eighteenth century were based on an attempted survey made by two Lamas who were sent by the Emperor of China in 1711 to prepare a map of

Tibet and the sources of the Ganges. A revolution took place in Tibet while the Lamas were engaged on this work, which was thus brought to a hasty conclusion; and their map of the sources of the Ganges and Hundes was based on oral information. This map, according to which the Ganges began its course on a line approximate to the true course of the Sutlej, and then took a great bend to the south, formed the basis of maps of that area until in 1784 Anquetil Du Perron published the result of the researches of Father Tieffenthaller, a Jesuit missionary in India; but the missionary, who had actually not travelled very high up the valley of the Ganges, gave information little more accurate than that of the Lamas.¹ In 1808, at the instance of the President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Surveyor-General deputed Captain F. V. Raper and Lieutenant Webb to survey the Ganges from Hardwar to Gangotri. They were stopped when they reached Badrinath; but one of their Hindu assistants travelled farther: and they were able to delineate with greater accuracy than had hitherto been possible the course of the Ganges from its source, and to report with certainty that the river did not rise on the farther side of the Himalaya. In 1812 the enterprising veterinary surgeon William Moorcroft travelled up the Dhauli Valley, through Malari and Niti, crossed the Niti Pass and penetrated to Gartok, whence he travelled to the Manasarovar Lakes. Accounts of these journeys were published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of that of Raper and Webb in the eleventh volume of the *Asiatic Researches* and that of Moorcroft in the twelfth. In the eleventh volume H. T. Colebrooke, commenting on the achievements of Raper and Webb, remarked that the Himalaya would probably be found to contain mountains higher than Mont Blanc and to be actually one of the highest ranges of mountains in the world. He contributed to the twelfth volume an article on the height of the mountains, based on further observations made by officers from the plains and from Kathmandu, in which he expressed his conclusion that the height of Dwalagiri was between 26,462 and 27,677 feet; of

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, XI, 429.

Jamnautri 25,500; of another peak, probably Nanda Kot, 22,768 feet; and of mountains of Nepal, visible from Patna, 23,052, 23,262, and 24,625 respectively. Colebrooke might have made more startling claims than he did for the supremacy of the Himalaya if more attention had been given to its culminating peaks in the east; but Dwalagiri, of which the height is now assumed to be 26,800, was sufficient for his purpose. He was very nearly right in his estimate of the height of Dwalagiri, and probably nearly right in the peak observed from Pilibhit, which is nearer to our country, if not actually part of it. Colebrooke's articles aroused a storm of criticism, of which we may read in James Baillie Fraser's account of his own travels in the mountains.—(*Journal of a tour through part of the Snowy Range of the Himalaya Mountains*, London, 1820.) The author travelled in Kumaon; and although he commits himself to the astonishing statement that there are no glaciers in the snowy range, he did valuable work in exploring the western side of the Nanda Devi Massif and the sources of the Ganges, travelling at a time when the glaciers were covered with snow, so that he did not realise that there was ice underneath. At the same time, the statement is surprising, because he must have seen many ice-falls; and if there is anything which impresses the traveller in the Himalaya it is that every fold in the mountains holds a glacier, so that none but the largest can be given a name. He tells us of how Colebrooke's speculations were received in Europe. Humboldt on the whole accepted Colebrooke's conclusions, realising at the same time the difficulties involved by the consideration of the question of refraction of light, which have not yet been completely solved. He went farther than Colebrooke, and suggested that there were higher mountains still to be discovered, probably moved to this by Colebrooke's mention of a mountain visible at a very great distance from Patna, (which was probably Everest). But the Quarterly Reviewers attacked Colebrooke's conclusions, pointing out that at the heights which he suggested the air could not support clouds. Fraser takes no decided line; but he is troubled by the fact that Moorcroft in ascending the Niti Pass could not have approached 17,000 feet, nor he himself in reaching a similar height, because

at 17,000 feet the air would be so rarefied as to lose the power of expanding the lungs.

Thus our respected elder sister, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, was early in the field in encouraging Himalayan exploration. It is interesting to note that of the critics, the man who was really qualified to judge was right, and the rest were wrong. From this time, with further evidence continually coming from the Indian surveyors, it could no longer be maintained that Chimborazo was the highest mountain in the world; but Whymper, in his *Travels among the Great Andes of the Equator*, quotes a late echo of the controversy from the first edition of *Aurora Leigh*, (1856) :

'I learnt the royal genealogies
Of Oviedo, the internal laws
Of the Burmese empire, by how many feet
Mount Chimborazo outsoars Himmaleh.'

It is curious that Humboldt, who himself in 1802 climbed high in the Equatorial Andes, made a mistake similar to that of Fraser, reporting that they contained no glaciers.

Fraser had travelled in Kumaon during the war of 1816 and after it. From that time the high passes formed the limit of British territory; and visits to the upper Ganges valley became more frequent, although George William Traill, the Commissioner for the affairs of Kumaon, did not encourage outsiders to visit the interior of his district. His discouragement indeed placed such a check on travelling outside the beaten track in Kumaon that a whole generation passed before the existence of Naini Tal was made known to the outer world; though Traill had casually mentioned it in his 'Statistical Account of Kumaon', which he contributed to the sixteenth volume of *Asiatic Researches*. In the seventeenth volume, which was published in 1832, he gave an account of the Bhotia mahals of Kumaon. By that time the question of whether the Himalaya was as high as Colebrooke had imagined was no longer the subject of controversy. Traill tells us that Webb, who must have been a very accurate observer, had put the height of Nanda Devi at 25,669. Others had placed it somewhat higher; and Traill, taking a mean, puts it at 25,709, still

erring a little on the high side, as Colebrooke had done in his estimate of the height of Dwalagiri. He tells us that, of the passes, the Niti Pass was considered the most easy and the Johar, (Untadhura), the most difficult. He records a tradition, that when the Raja of Kumaon conquered the Tibetans in the Milam Valley, he made a road here, paying a rupee for every cupful of earth which was brought to the pass. ‘This tale’, says Traill, ‘doubtless partakes of the usual style of Eastern hyperbole, but it is deprived of much of its exaggeration, on inspection of the country in that quarter’. The tale certainly is one which rather lays emphasis on the rough nature of the approach to the pass than demands belief; and if the Raja made anything approaching a road, all traces of it have now disappeared, in the tumbled mass of rock and ice, over which the traveller approaches the Untadhura. Traill’s account of Nanda Devi may be quoted here.

‘No volcano is positively known to exist, but there are grounds for suspecting that the Nanda Devi Peak contains something of the kind: the Bhotias and natives of neighbouring districts bear unanimous testimony to the occasional appearance of smoke on its summit: this is attributed by them to the actual residence of a deity, and has accordingly invested that peak with particular sanctity. A religious mela is held every twelfth year, at the highest accessible point, which is however about a mile from the summit: further progress is rendered impossible by a wall of perpendicular ice. The dangers and difficulties incurred by the pilgrims are represented as most appalling, and of the many hundreds who start at each successive period, not fifty find courage to complete the enterprise.’

The pilgrimage described by Traill is apparently that to the ice-cave at the foot of the Silla Samudar Glacier, on the western face of Triśūl, which as Dr. Longstaff points out is fifteen miles from Nanda Devi. (G.J. LXXI, No. 5, May 1928). Traill had in 1830 made a path up the right lateral moraine of the Pindari Glacier to the head of the upper ice-fall, by which he reached the high névé between 21,624 and 20,740, and descended to the valley of the Goriganga. He was followed in 1855 by Adolphe Schlagintweit; and when Adolphe’s brothers published their account of their travels, they described the pass as Traill’s Pass, the name by which it has since been known. Adolphe and Robert left Patna on the 29th of March,

1855, and travelling by palki dak and carriage dak, as one or the other was available, reached Naini Tal on the 16th of April. Adolphe left Naini Tal on the 20th of May, and reached Kathi on the 27th. On the 31st he crossed Traill's Pass, and descended by the Lwanl Glacier to the Goriganga to join his brother at Milam. Robert had left Naini Tal on the 17th of May, travelling by the ordinary route to Muniari, and thence up the valley to Milam. They then spent some time exploring the environs of Nanda Devi and the Milam Glacier, until on the 6th of July, they crossed the Untadhura Pass, and penetrated as far as Gartok in Tibet, returning by the Mana Pass and Badrinath. While on the northern side of the passes, they attained an elevation of 22,260 feet on 'Ibi Gamin', the greatest height hitherto reached. The days had long passed when men thought that Mont Blanc stood for the greatest height at which men could breathe; and the observations of the Schlagintweits on this matter are of a kind very different from those of the earlier travellers. They attributed the diminished power of endurance which they observed above 17,000 feet to the increasing rarity of the air, and difficulties in breathing above about 20,000 to deficiency of oxygen. Their remarks on the effect of diminished pressure agree with the experience of most people at the present day, and are worth quoting:—'For the generality of people the influence of height begins at 16,500 feet, a height nearly coinciding with that of the highest pasture grounds visited by shepherds. The effects of diminished pressure are considerably aggravated by fatigue. It is surprising to what a degree it is possible for exhaustion to supervene.'

Captain Edmund Smyth, who had already distinguished himself in the Alps, crossed Traill's Pass from the Pindari Glacier in 1861. The difficulties of this crossing were increasing; the great mountaineer T. S. Kennedy was to attempt it and fail in 1883; others looked at it and abandoned the attempt; and it was not again crossed until 1926. Smyth, who was in the Kumaon Division for many years as an officer of the Education Department, travelled far and wide in the hills in the sixties, and left behind him a reputation for being able to go where birds could not fly; but he recorded no account of his

exploits, which must be regarded as unfortunate, although the explanation of his modesty may not be far to seek. In the following decade, the mountains of Kumaon were scientifically surveyed. A detailed survey was made of all the travelled routes, and the position and heights of the peaks were determined with accuracy. The internal detail is naturally less accurate; but when the magnitude of their task is considered, one can fairly find nothing but praise for the work of the surveyors. Major Kenneth Mason has recently told us how in the survey from Kashmir to Kumaon, the theodolite was taken to the top of thirty-seven mountains of over 20,000 feet and of five over 21,000.

In 1883 W. W. Graham, accompanied by the guides Emil Ross and Ulrich Kaufmann, attempted to climb Dunagiri and then entered the Rishi Valley, but was unable to reach the Nanda Devi basin. He reached the top of a peak to which he gave the name of Mount Monal, which he identified with A 21, (Changabang, 22,516). His account of his exploits became at once the subject of controversy, largely his own fault, because he made the Survey of India his antagonists by his unreasonable criticism of the survey maps. Whether his mountain was Changabang or some other peak must be regarded as doubtful. The matter is discussed by the late Mr. Arnold Mumm in his *Five months in the Himalaya* (pages 107-114). But we need not doubt that he climbed very high, since Dr. Longstaff is satisfied that he actually climbed Changabang, and Mr. Douglas Freshfield has added his testimony, (*A.J.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 173).

In 1893 Dr. Kurt Boeckh visited this area, of which he has given a description in his *Indische Gletscherfahrten*. He visited the Pindari Glacier, whence he returned to Kathi and crossed the hills to the Goriganga Valley. He then went up to Milam, and crossed the Untadhura Pass, descending by way of the Girthi Valley to Malari, and returning by Joshimath.

In 1905, Dr. T. G. Longstaff explored the approaches to Trisul from the south, and the approaches to Nanda Devi and Nanda Kot from the Goriganga Valley. I need not here give details of his journeys which will be described in due course. In 1907, he returned to this area, accompanied by General Bruce

and the late Mr. Arnold Mumm, with the guides Alexis and Henri Brocherel of Courmayeur, and Moritz Inderbinen of Zermatt. The party explored the Bagini Glacier, and crossed the ridge between Dunagiri and Changabang at 20,100 feet. According to the survey map, they should when they had crossed the Bagini Pass have found themselves in a branch of the great ice-basin which surrounds Nanda Devi, but the map was found to be incorrect, and they descended the Rhamani Glacier to the Rishi Valley. From here, crossing the Betatoli Glacier, and ascending by the left moraine of the Triśūl Glacier, Dr. Longstaff accompanied by the Brocherels achieved on the 12th of June his memorable ascent of Triśūl (23,406). Dr. Longstaff, who has made this region peculiarly his own, again visited it in May, 1927, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Ruttledge. The party explored the sources of the Nandagini, looking for a mountaineer's pass between Nanda Ghunti and Triśūl. An account of their travels was given in the Geographical Journal, Vol. lxxi, No. 5, of May, 1928.

In 1925, Mr. Hugh Ruttledge, then Deputy Commissioner of Almora, accompanied by Mrs. Ruttledge and Colonel (now Major-General) R. C. Wilson, had attempted to cross Traill's Pass from the Pindari Glacier. On that occasion they were not successful; but their reconnaissance was of great value to them in the following year, when they succeeded in crossing the pass from the north. The ascent is described by Major-General Wilson in the Alpine Journal, No. 236 of May, 1928, and the reconnaissance by Mr. Ruttledge in the first number of the Himalayan Journal.

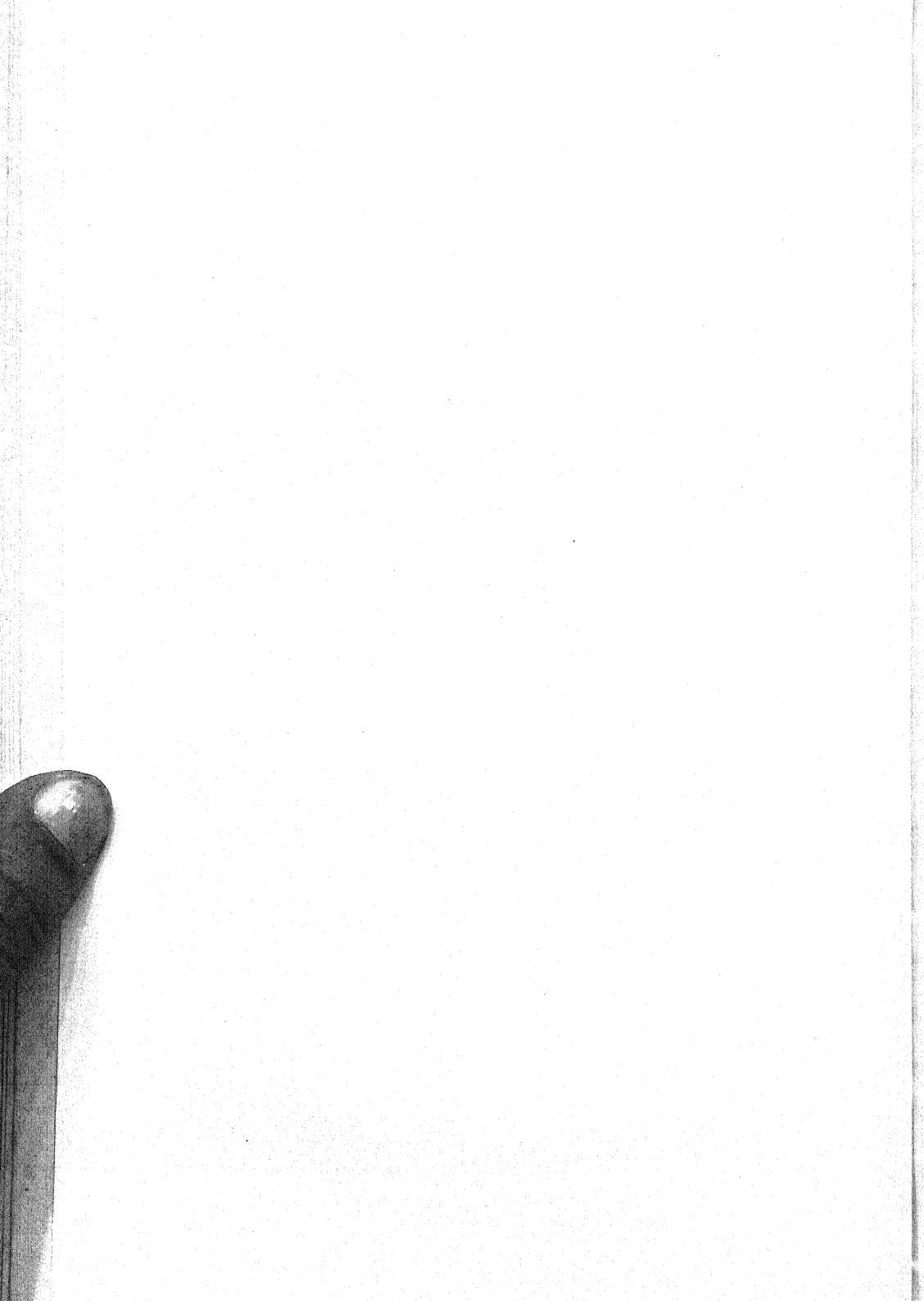
Much has necessarily been omitted in this brief survey of exploration in this area; but I may conclude with a mention of the end of William Moorcroft, one of the most remarkable of the earlier travellers. A veterinary surgeon, and superintendent of the Company's stud, his real passion was for travel and exploration; and after the conclusion of the war with Nepal, he obtained permission to set out on his travels again, with the object of discovering whether horses could be usefully imported from the country beyond Bashahr. He travelled through Bashahr to Ladakh, and thence down to the Punjab, and through

Peshawar to Kabul, whence he reached Bokhara where he died of fever. His account of his travels, so far as his account had reached India was published by Horace Hayman Wilson in 1841. Strange rumours of his end were current, as that he had penetrated to Lhasa in disguise and lived there as a monk, but we need not doubt that Wilson's account of his life and death is correct.



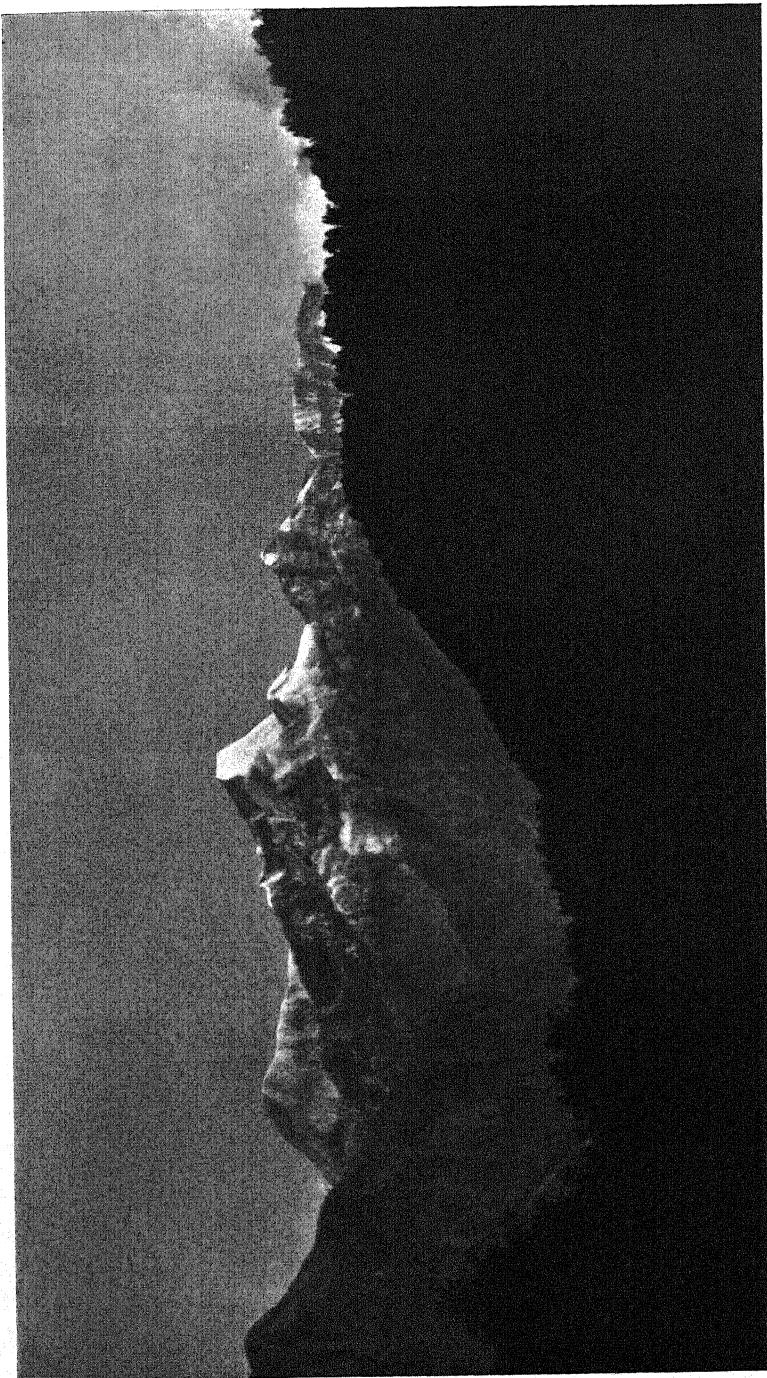
J.B.O.R.S. 1932.

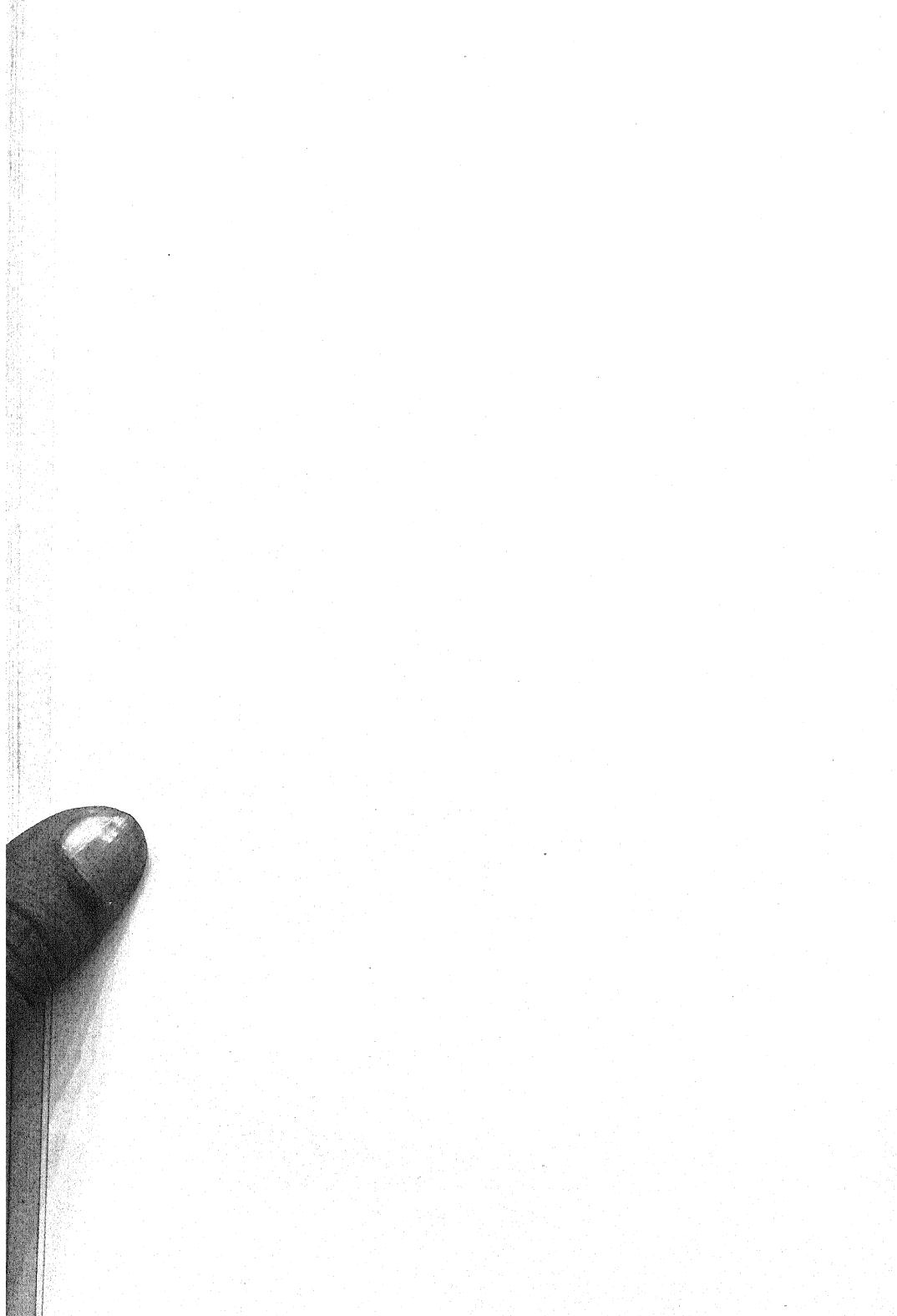
DAWN AND NOON AND SUNSET ARE ONE BEFORE THY FACE.
(NANDA DEVI E. PEAK FROM THE LWANL GLACIER.)

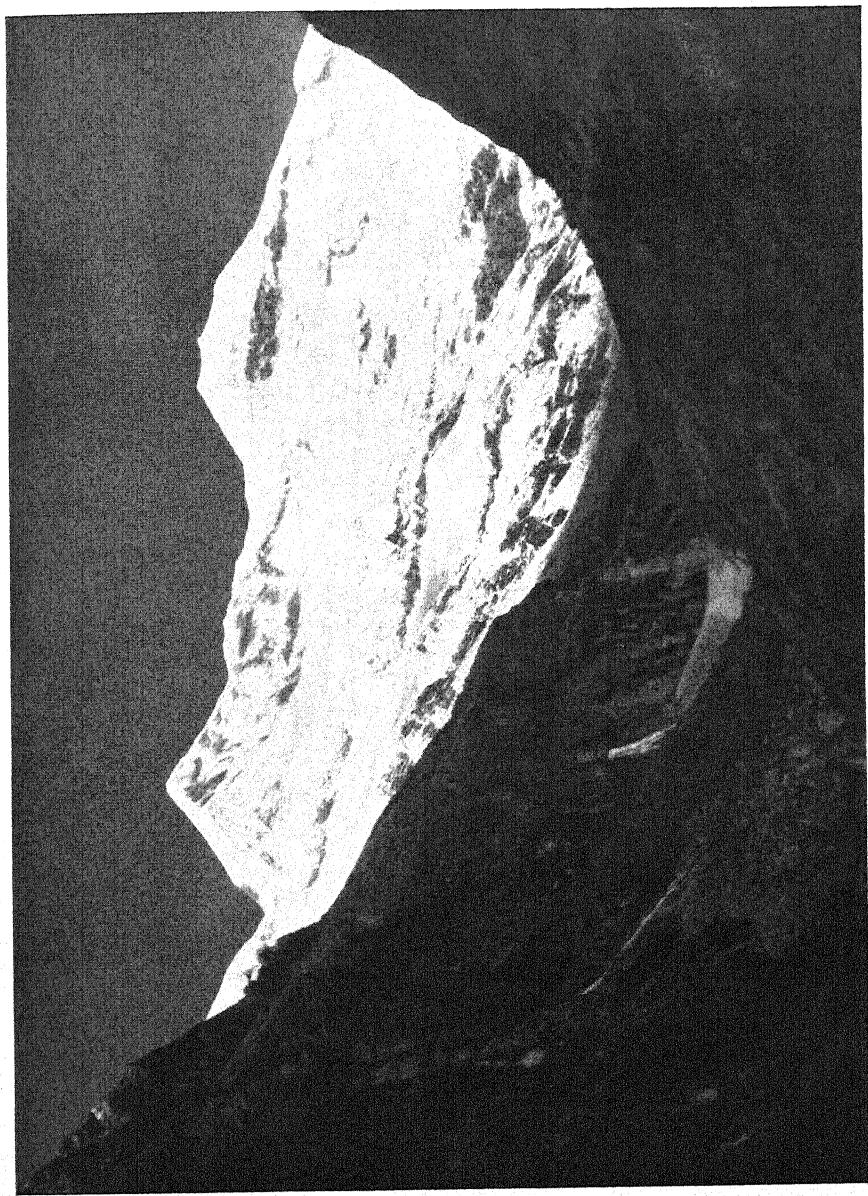


NANDA KOT FROM KHATI.

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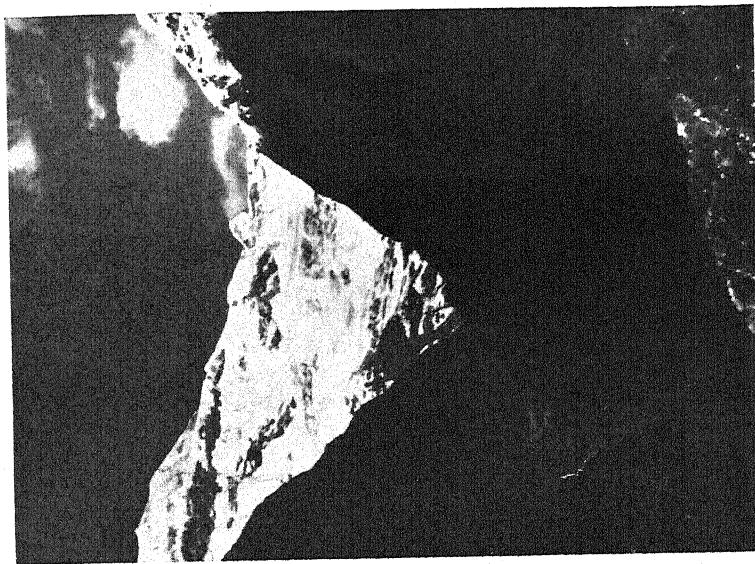




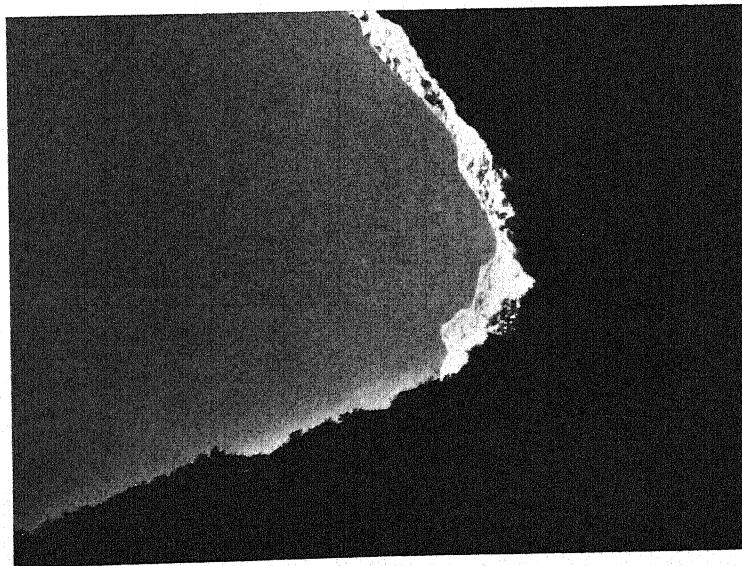
21624 FROM NEAR PRURKAYA.

J. B. ORS, 1932.

LOOKING NORTH FROM PHURKIYA
(NANDA DEVI IS VISIBLE BEHIND THE SLOPES OF 21624).

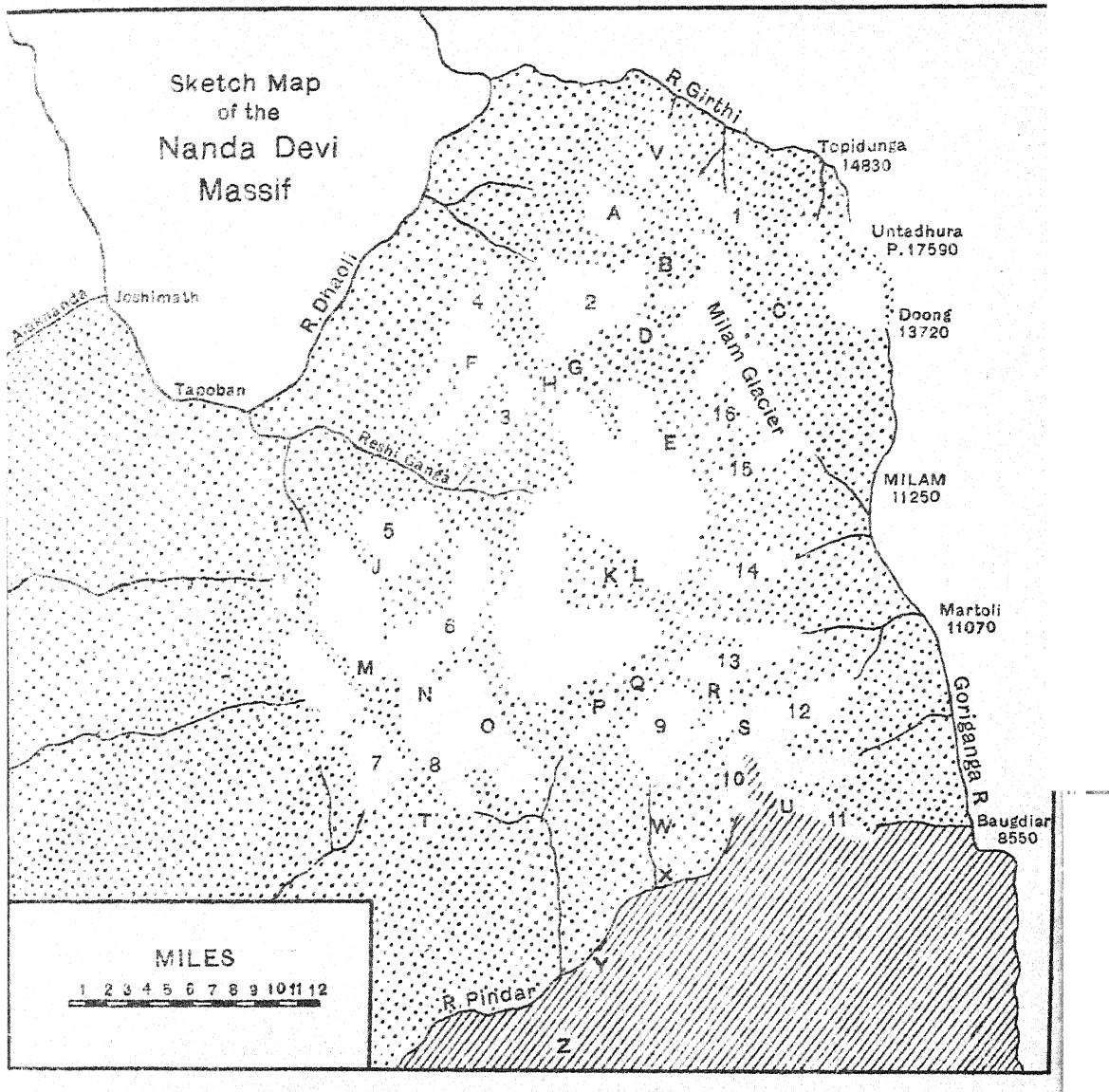


J.B.O.R.S. 1922.
NANDA DEVI FROM DIWALI.

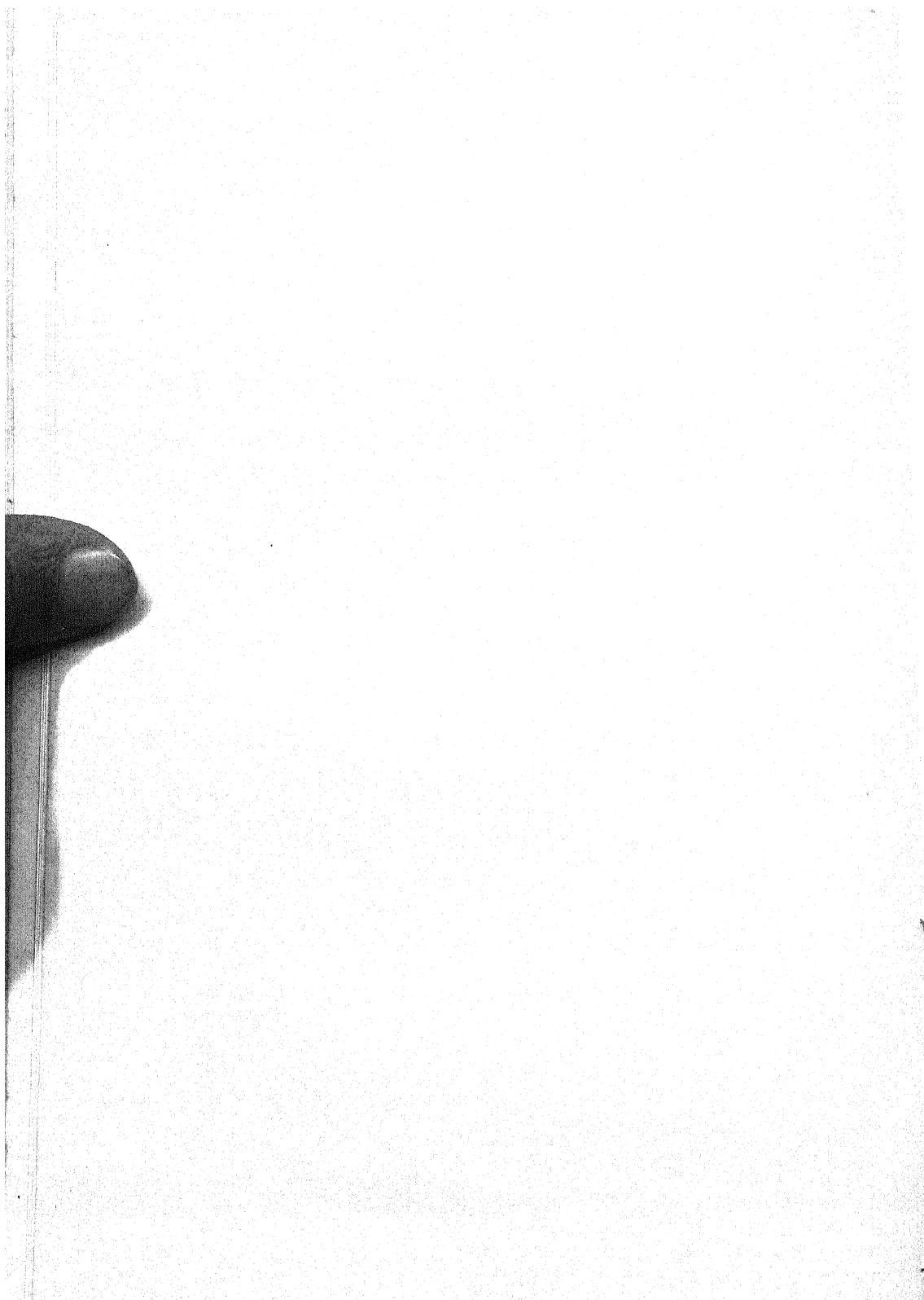




Sketch Map
of the
Nanda Devi
Massif



- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| A. 21341 | O. Trisul E. 22360 | 2. Bagini |
| B. 23220 | P. 21858 | 3. Rhamani |
| C. 22400 | Q. 21624 | 4. Dunagiri |
| D. 22940 | R. 20740 | 5. Betatoli |
| E. 21772 | S. Nanda Kot 22530 | 6. Trisuli |
| F. Duhagiri 23184 | T. Simm Saga 20010 | 7. Kurumtoli |
| G. Kalanka 22735 | U. 19554 | 8. Sukeram |
| H. Changabang 22516 | V. 20344 | 9. Pindari |
| I. Nanda Ghunti 21286 | W. Phurkiya R.H. | 10. Kuphini |
| J. 20842 | X. Diwali R.H. | 11. Poting |
| K. NANDA DEVI 25660 | Y. Kathi R.H. | 12. Salung |
| L. Nanda Devi 24379 | Z. Dhakeri R.H. | 13. Lwanl |
| M. Trisul 23406 | GLACIERS. | 14. Panchu |
| N. do 22490 | 1. Girthi | 15. Shakram |
| | | 16. Mangrau. |



(Continued from Vol. XVII. Pt. IV.)

न हि प्रकरणवशेन श्रुतेर्लक्षणार्थता न्याया । तस्मात् जीवने
निमित्ते पुरुषस्य प्रत्यवायपरिहाराय प्रयोगान्तरं विधीयते ।

२ सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययैककर्मताधिकरणम् ।

नामरूपधर्मविशेषपुनरुक्तिनिन्दाऽशक्तिसमाप्ति-
वचनप्रायश्चित्तान्यार्थदर्शनाच्छाखान्तरेषु कर्मभेदः
स्यात् ॥ ८ ॥

शाखान्तरेषु किमग्निहोत्रादि कर्म भिद्यते किं वा सर्व-
शाखाखेकस्वेति संशयः ।

तत्राविशेषेण पुनः श्रुतिलक्षणादभ्यासात्प्रकरणान्तरात् भेदः ।
तथा गुणादपि क्वचिङ्गेहः । ऐन्द्राग्रामेकादशकपालमिति क्वचित्
श्रुतम् । अन्यत्र तु द्वादशकपालमिति ।

तत्रावश्यमन्यतरेण कर्मण्युत्पादयितव्ये तद्वत्गुणस्योत्पत्तिश्छिष्ट
इति, इतरस्तत्र निवेशमलभमानो वाजिनवत् कर्मान्तरं कल्पयतीति
प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

विहितस्यापि पुरुषान्तरं प्रति विधानसम्भवाङ्गेहः । यथा
च्छेकशाखागतमग्निहोत्रादिवाक्यं एकपुरुषं प्रति विहितस्वेवापरं प्रति
विधत्ते न तु कर्मान्तरं एवमिहापि अथेष्टभेदात् तान् प्रति सर्वाणि
वाक्यान्येव कर्म विद्धति । एवमसन्निधावपि विपरिवृत्यभावात्
कर्मविधानमात्रं सिद्धति न तु भेदः । एवमेकादशद्वादशकपालयो-
रपि उत्पत्तिश्छिष्टलात् बलाबलं न च शाखादयस्मेकोऽधीते ।
खाधायोऽधीतव्य इति विधिनाऽर्थबोधं प्रति खाधायस्योपादीय-
मानतया त × × तैकलस्य विवक्षितलात् । उक्तव्य—

“ खाधाययहेणका शाखा हि परिगृह्यते१ ” ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ६४२ । अस्य श्वोकस्य द्वितीयचरणस्तु एवं पद्यते—‘एकार्थानां
विकल्पस्य कर्मैकले विवक्षिते ।’

ज्योतिषोमादिनामधेयस्य द्रव्यदेवताख्यस्थ रूपस्य गुणस्य चा-
विशेषेण सर्वशाखासु कर्मण ऐक्यप्रत्यभिज्ञानाच्च ।

उक्तच्च—

“ सर्वत्र प्रत्यभिज्ञानात् संज्ञारूपगुणादिभिः ।

एककर्मलविज्ञानं न शाखाख्यपगच्छति॑ ” ॥

तदेवं शब्दान्तरादीनि षडपि कर्मभेदकानि सापवादानि
निरूपितानि । तत्र संज्ञाशब्दान्तरयोरपर्यायशब्दत्वेनाविशेषेऽपि
शब्दान्तरस्य भावनात्तुरञ्जकसाध्यभूतधार्त्यप्रतिपादकत्वेन धार्त्या-
वच्छिन्नभावनाप्रतिपादकतया केवलधार्त्यप्रतिपादकसंज्ञातो भेदे-
नाभिधानम् । संख्यागुणयोख्ययं भेदः । गुणस्य पूर्वकर्मण्यसम्भवा-
द्भेदकलम् । असम्भवसु उत्पत्तिशिष्टैर्न बलीयसाऽवरोधादाक्य-
भेदप्रसङ्गिलादा । संख्यायासु भिन्नकर्मसु व्यासज्यसमवायेऽपि
भेदमन्तरेणानुपपत्तेभेदकतेति ।

उक्तच्च—

“ खरूपानभिधानत्वात् संज्ञाशब्दान्तरात्यृथक् ।

व्यासज्यसमवायाच्च संख्या भिन्ना गुणान्तरात्॒ ” ॥

सोऽयं शब्दान्तरादिप्रमाणको भेदो व्यक्तिरेव । तथा हि-
विधिनाऽनुष्ठेयस्य भेदो लभ्यते । तादृशी च व्यक्तिरेवेति ।

आह च—

“ व्यक्तिर्थो हि विधीयन्ते सामान्येनोपलचिताः ।

तस्मान्तङ्गतमेवेह भेदाभेदनिरूपणम्॑ ” ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ६४१ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ६१६ ।

३ कारिकोयं तन्त्रवार्त्तिकशास्त्रदीपिकयोर्न दृश्यते ।

एवच्च समिधो यजतौत्यादौ पञ्च व्यक्तयः । ताश्च देशकाल-
यजमानादिभेदेऽपि न भिद्यन्ते । द्रुतादिभेदादिव गकारः ।

आह च—

“ पौर्णमासीसमिद्यागादमावास्तो न भिद्यते ।
यजमानान्तरेष्वेवं देशभेदेषु च स्थितम्^१ ” ॥
न च व्यक्तीनां नियतेऽनुष्ठानवैयर्थ्यं अभिव्यक्ताभिरेव ताभिः
फलनिष्पत्तेः । अथ वा जातिभेद एव प्रतिपाद्यत इति ॥

इति श्रीमौमांसाशास्त्रसर्वत्वे द्वितीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

समाप्तच्च द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

तृतीयाध्याये प्रथमः पादः ।

१ प्रतिज्ञाधिकरणम् ।

अथातः शेषलक्षणम् ॥ १ ॥

एवं सिद्धे कर्मभेदे को धर्मः किं लक्षण इति जिज्ञासाविषय-
निरूपणे पर्यवसिते कान्यस्य साधनानि कानि साधनाभावानौति
जिज्ञासाविषयमूलमङ्गले श्रुत्यादिसहकातविनियोगविधिप्रभाणकं
श्रुत्यादौनां च बाध्यबाधकभावप्रयोजकं बलाबलं निरूप्य इति
वच्छ्यमाणार्थप्रतिज्ञापकमिदं सूत्रम् ।

२ शेषलक्षणाधिकरणम् ।

शेषः परार्थत्वात् ॥ २ ॥

परार्थं शेषशब्दप्रदत्तिनिमित्तमित्यर्थः । तथा च यः परार्थः
स शेष इति स्वरूपमर्थादुक्तम् ।

यत्तु अविनाभावः शेषलमिति तत्र—यथा हि अङ्गलाभिमतेन
विना अङ्गलाभिमतस्याभावः । तोयादिभिर्विनेवाङ्गरादि । एव-
मध्यनाधानद्रव्यार्जनादिना विना क्रलभावेन तेषां क्रलङ्गलापत्तेः ।

यदपि प्रयोज्यते शेषलमिति तदपि न । पुरोडाशकपालादे-
स्तुषोपवापाद्यङ्गलाभावप्रसङ्गात् ।

यदयुपकारकलमङ्गलमिति तदपि न । प्रधानानामपि परस्परा-
ङ्गलापत्तेः । इव्यार्जनादौनां सर्वकर्माङ्गलापत्तेश्च । ततश्चार्थमात्र-
विषयककामश्रुत्या परिग्रहात् वसन्तादिश्वरणानां निमित्तार्थता-
पत्तौ शृदादौनामधिकारप्रसङ्गः । पश्चाङ्गभूतानां प्रथाजादौनां

पशुपुरोडाशाङ्क्तप्रसङ्गाच्च । तस्मात्पारार्थ्यलक्ष्मेव शेषलम् । तच्च सम्बन्धप्रयुक्तेच्छाविषयलम् । यत् सम्बन्धेन हि यत्रेच्छा तत्साङ्गम् । तदुक्तम्—‘उद्देशेन हि तादर्थं विविच्यत’ इति । अत एव शालि-कुल्याश्वसुदकं पिबन्नपि न कश्चिन्मदर्थभेताः प्रणीता इत्यध्यवस्थति^१ ।

कथं तर्हि श्रुत्यादिलक्षणं शेषलम् । न हि सोमेन यजेतेति टतौयथा परोद्देशप्रवृत्तलं सोमस्योच्यत इति चेत्—

न । श्रुत्यादीनां पारार्थात्तन्निधायकलेऽपि विधिसहितानां तेषामर्थापत्त्या तदगमकलात् । चेतनप्रवर्तनाद्वा हि विधिः । न चानुद्दिष्टफले व्यापारे चेतनः प्रवर्तयितुं शक्यत इति अर्थाद्विधि-विषयस्य व्यापारस्य फलोद्देशप्रवृत्ततावगम्यते । फलार्थस्य व्यापारोऽपि फलवदेवाभिलिखित इति तत् साधनलेन श्रुत्यादिभिरवगतानां यागादीनां तत् साधनलेन च विहितानां सोमादीनां तदुद्देशप्रवृत्तिः सिद्धति । तस्माद्युक्तं श्रुत्यादिगम्यं पारार्थलक्षणं शेषलमिति ॥

३ शेषलक्ष्याधिकरणम् ।

द्रव्यगुणसंस्कारेषु बादरिः ॥ ३ ॥

पूर्वोक्तशेषलस्यैवायं प्रपञ्चः । द्विधा हि तत् । नैयमिकमा-पेच्चिकलं च । तचाद्यं यथा ब्रीह्यादीनामारुण्यादीनां संमार्गादीनां च शेषलम् ।

नन्वेषामपि स्वाङ्गानि प्रति प्रधानलात् यागं प्रति च गुणभावात् आपेच्चिकलमेव शेषलमिति चेत्—

न । यं प्रति शेषलं तं प्रति न शेषित्वमित्याश्रयात् । द्वितीयं तु यागादीनाम् । यागो हि निरवर्तकं पुरुषं प्रति प्रधानं फलं प्रति

१ तन्त्रवाचिके दृष्ट ईष्टे द्रष्टव्यम् ।

च गुणः । अत एव फलखामिनं पुरुषं प्रति सुतरां गुणोऽपौत्रादि
बोधम् । तदुक्तं सूत्रकृता—

कर्माण्यपि जैमिनिः फलार्थत्वात् ॥ ४ ॥

फलच्च पुरुषार्थत्वात् ॥ ५ ॥

पुरुषश्च तदर्थत्वात् ॥ ६ ॥

इति । आचार्यश्चाङ्गः—

“इव्यादेव्यत्र शेषलं तत्र नैवास्ति शेषिता ।

फलयागनराणां तु द्वाकारलं परत्यरम्^१” ॥

इदं च वसुष्टुत्तापेक्षमुच्यते । न तु व्यवहारार्थम् । अत्यथा
अङ्गलांशेन विक्षितौ फलपुरुषयोरप्यतिदेशे सिद्धान्तहानिः स्थादिति
बोधम् ॥

४ निर्वापणादीनां व्यवस्थितविषयताधिकरणम् ।

तेषामर्थेन सम्बन्धः ॥ ७ ॥

कः शेषः केन हेतुना च इति इयमपि निरूपितम् । कथं
विनियुज्यत इति निरूप्यते । दर्शपूर्णमासयोर्निर्वपणप्रोक्षणावघातादय
आषधधर्माः उत्पवनादय आज्यधर्माः शाखाहरणादयः साक्षात्य-
धर्माः श्रुताः ।

तेषु संशयः । किं सर्वे आषधे आज्ये साक्षात्ये च कर्तव्या
उत यथासम्भवं व्यवस्थेति । किं प्राप्तम्—

“एकमेव फला पूर्वं फलस्यैकस्य सिद्धये ।

कल्पय नान्यानि धर्माणां तादर्थ्यासङ्करो भवेत्^२” ॥

१ तन्त्रवार्तिकोऽनुवेयं कारिका, पृ० ६७५ ।

२ शास्त्रदैपिकाकारैरपि धृतेयं कारिका, पृ० १८८ ।

अवधातादयो ब्रौह्णादिभिरपूर्वसाधनतांशेन संबधते । ख-
रूपार्थलभानर्थक्यात् । तच्चापूर्वं सर्वेषामाग्नेयादौनामेकफलसाधन-
लादेकमेव कल्पते न तु बङ्गनि । तदर्थश्चावधातस्तदौये हविषि
कर्तव्यः । तदौयलं चाज्यादौनामप्यवशिष्टम् । अतो यथा ब्रौह्णिषु
श्रुतोऽवधातो यवेष्यपि भवति, एवमाज्यादिष्वपौति युक्तम् । सन्तु
वावान्तरापूर्वाणि तथापि तानि निष्फलत्वाद्यागस्वरूपवदेव न
धर्माणां प्रयोजकानि परमापूर्वमेव तु फलवलात्मयोजकम् । भवन्तु
वाऽवान्तरापूर्वाणेव प्रयोजकानि तथापि प्रकरणाविशेषात् सर्वाणि
सर्वेषां प्रयोजकानि । तस्मात् सङ्कर इत्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

सन्ति तावद्वान्तरापूर्वाणि तैर्विना आशुतरविनाशिना-
माग्नेयादौनां संहत्य परमापूर्वजनकल्पायोगादित्युक्तमपूर्वधिकरणे ।
तादर्थमेव चावधातादेर्युक्तम् । प्रथमं तत्रैव निपतति । तस्य चाज्ञात-
प्रकारत्वात् परमापूर्वसाधकलेन च फलवच्चान्तदतिक्रमो न व्याप्तः ।
सत्यपि च सर्वेषां प्रकरणाविशेषे श्रुतेर्बलौयस्त्वावगमादसंकरः । एवं
चावधातादेर्दृष्टार्थता भवति । तस्माद्यथासंयोगं व्यवस्था ॥

**५ स्फ्यादौनां संयोगानुसारेण व्यवस्थितत्वाधि-
करणम् ।**

द्रव्यं चोत्पत्तिसंयोगान्तदर्थमेव चोद्येत ॥ ११ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः ‘स्फ्यश्च कपालानि चेत्युपक्रम्य ‘एतानि वै दश
यज्ञायुधानी’ति श्रुतम् । तथा ‘स्फ्येनोद्धन्ती’त्यादौनि ।

तत्र किं स्फ्यादिना येन यत्कर्तुं शक्यं तत्परं कार्यसुत यथा-
संयोगसुद्धननाद्येवेति संशयः ।

तत्रायुधशब्दस्य साधनवचनलात् यज्ञसाधनलं गम्यमानं साक्षा-
दसभवदंगेष्ववतरदविशेषात्सर्वाङ्गेषु ज्ञायते । उद्घूननादिसंयोग-
स्त्रेनेव प्राप्त्वादवयुत्यानुवाद इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

एवं सति बह्नामुद्घूननादिवाक्यानामानर्थक्यं स्यात् उद्घूनने
स्फ्यादन्येषामपि पक्षे प्राप्तौ नित्यवच्छ्रवणविरोधस्य । तस्मादेतानि
वाक्यानि विधायकानि । यज्ञायुधवाक्यं लितैरेव प्राप्तार्थलात्
वैशब्दोपबन्धात् । आख्याताभावाचानुवादकम् । न चास्यानर्थक्यम् ।
यज्ञायुधानि सभवन्तौत्यनन्तरश्रुतासादनविधिशेषलात् ।

तस्मादस्यानुवादलादितरे विधयो मताः ।

तेन स्फ्यादैर्यवस्था स्यात्कार्येष्टुद्घूननादिषु ॥

इ आरुण्यादिगुणानामसंकीर्णताधिकरणम् ।
अर्थेकत्वे द्रव्यगुणयोरैककर्मान्नियमः स्यात् ॥ १२ ॥

ज्योतिष्ठोमे श्रूयते ‘अरुण्या पिङ्गाच्या एकहायन्या सोमं
क्रीणातौ’ति । तत्रारुणशब्दोऽयमाक्षयधिकरणन्यायेन गुणवचनः ।
न तु गुणगतजातिवचनः । शुक्लादिव्यक्तीनामेकैकलात् ।

आह च—

“एतैव दिशा वाचा शुक्लादैरपि नित्यते”ति । पक्षान्तरे तु
तद्गतजातिवचनः । उभयथापि द्रव्ये लाक्षणिकः । न च मतुपा-
द्यैगिक इति वाच्यम् । लोपाद्वाराख्यानदारा निरुद्गुणस्या एवो-
पपादितलात् । सा चार्थशक्तिः यद्यपि शक्त्यन्तरकल्पनागैरवं तुल्यं
तथापि अभिधेयमात्रप्रत्ययनेन शब्दस्य निष्टत्यापारलात् अर्थ-
प्रत्ययस्य चाक्षतार्थलादर्थशक्तिरेव प्रमाणवती न शब्दशक्तिः । “या
लादिभितौ लक्षणा नासौ शास्त्रेण गम्यते । यथा हिंग्धो रस
द्रव्यादौ रसशब्दस्य द्रव्यलक्षणा ।

आह च—

निष्ठां लक्षणाः काश्चित्सामर्थादभिधानवत् ।

क्रियन्ते साम्रांतं काश्चित् काश्चित्तैव लग्नक्तिः^१ ॥

“पिङ्गाक्ष्यैकहायनौशब्दौ यौगिकौ । सामानाधिकरणादेक-
द्रव्यवचनौ । गुणाधिक्यफलं च शब्दद्वयम् । न चैकेन विहितेऽपरेण
विधिर्न सम्भवतौति वाच्यम् । उभयोरपि श्रुत्यैव द्रव्यवाचकयो-
र्युगप्यप्रवृत्तेः^२ ॥”

लक्षणयोरपि गुणवचनलक्षणेव । मर्वर्थं ब्रौह्विधानात् मतुपश्च
सम्बन्धवाचकलादिति चेत्—न । मतुपः प्रकृत्यर्थाविशिष्टद्रव्यवाचक-
लात् । सम्बन्धस्य च तदनन्तरं अर्थात् प्रतीतेः । न च व्यक्तीनामानंत्य-
व्यभिचाराभ्यां अनभिधेयलभिति वाच्यम् । एकोपलक्षणेन शक्ति-
यहसंभवात् । यद्यपि उपलक्षणैभूता दण्डादिव्यक्तयो नाना तथापि
जात्या तदनुगमः । न जातिरपि दण्डलदण्डवत्तादिरननुगतेति
वाच्यम् । प्रकृत्यर्थलेन तदनुगमात् ।

आह च—

“ सर्वत्र यौगिकैः शब्दैर्द्रव्यसेवाभिधीयते ।

न हि सम्बन्धवाच्यत्वं सम्भवत्यतिगौरवात् ॥

प्राक् प्रतीतैकसम्बन्धविशिष्टभिहिते परे ।

सम्बन्धन्येव सम्बन्धः प्रतीत इति नोच्यते ॥

आनन्देऽपि हि भावानामेकं क्षत्वोपलक्षणम् ।

शब्दः सुकरसम्बन्धो न च व्यभिचरिष्यति^३ ॥

^१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ७०० ।

^२ शास्त्रदैषिका, पृ० १६० ।

^३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ६८८, ६९१, ६९३ ।

न चैव दण्डबमितिवप्रत्ययेन सम्बन्धो नाभिधौयत इति वाच्यम् । भावप्रत्ययस्य समवेतगुणग्राहिलनियमेनार्थप्राप्तसम्बन्धस्यैकवाच्यलात् । न चैवमपि बङ्गब्रीहावन्यपदार्थो लक्ष्य एवास्त्रिति वाच्यम् । अनेकमन्यपदार्थ इति स्मरणादवश्यं प्रतीतेष्व वाच्यलाभ्युपगमात् ।

“ तदिहारणिमानं प्रति सन्देहः । किमेनं वाक्यात् भिला प्रकरणेन सर्वद्रव्येषु विनिवेश्यामः किं वा क्रीणातिना सम्बन्ध तदङ्गीभूतं एकहायन्याभेदेति ।

तत्र—

अमूर्तलादगुणो नैव क्रियां साधयितुं चामः ।
तस्माक्लौणातिना नास्य सम्भवत्येकवाक्यता^१ ” ॥

तस्माद्वाक्यं भिला प्रकरणे निवेशनीयः । तथा हि—“ प्रातिपदिकं गुणवचनमपि लक्षण्या द्रष्टव्यम् । द्रव्यञ्च वृत्तीयासंयोगात्करणम् । एवं च गुणविशिष्टद्रव्ये करणतया प्रतीतविशेषाणि करणद्रव्याणि प्रकरणगतान्यनूद्य विशेषाभूतो गुणः परिच्छेदकलेन विधीयते । येन द्रव्येण किंचित् क्रियते तेनास्त्रणगुणेनेति ।

नन्वेवं लक्षितस्य द्रव्यस्य क्रयकरणलमेवास्तु किं वाक्यभेदेनेति वाच्यम् । औतैकहायन्यवरुद्धे तस्मिन् लक्षितद्रव्यान्तरविधानायोगात् । न चैकहायनीमेवानूद्य गुणो विधीयताभिति वाच्यम् । क्यं प्रति गुणैभूताया विधीयमानायास्तस्य गुणं प्रति प्रधानीभवनायोगात् । प्राकरणिकद्रव्याणि तु वाक्यान्तरविहितानि ग्रन्थान्तेऽनुवदितुम्^२ ” ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ष० १५०-१५१ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, ष० १५१-१५२ ।

“ अतस्य पदमैवैतदाक्षेनैवं विभज्यते ।

या व्यक्तिः करणलेन चोदिता पूर्वसाधनम् ॥

तथा तत्साधयेन्नित्यमस्तुलविशिष्टया ।

एवं चेदह्लणं कार्यं करणं यद्यग्न्हाद्यपि॑ ” ॥

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रमः—

“ हत्तीयथा गुणस्यैव करणलं क्रयं प्रति ।

विस्पष्टं गम्यते तच्च द्रव्यद्वारेण युज्यते॒ ” ॥

अर्थादाक्यस्य नैकदेश्वादिति न्यायेन यथाशक्त्यादित्युपबन्धे
सति द्रव्यपरिच्छेदमुखेन गुणस्य करणलमवधार्यते । न ह्येकरूपैव
सर्वेषां साधनता । एवं च “ श्रौतस्यैव गुणस्य क्रयैकवाक्यलेन लक्षणा-
वाक्यभेदश्च न युज्यते । यदा च क्रयार्थत्वं तदा तदौद्यद्व्ये
निवेशादेकहायन्यामेवास्य निवेशः॒ ” । न च वासःप्रवृत्तिष्वपि
निवेशापत्तिः तेषां क्रयान्तरद्रव्यलात् । प्रतिवाक्यं हि भिन्नाः क्रयाः ।
उत्पत्तिशिष्टद्रव्यान्तरावरुद्धे द्रव्यान्तरनिवेशाद्योगात् । न चैवं
“ क्रयेषु तु विकल्पः स्या ” दित्यधिकरणे द्रव्याणां विकल्पसमुच्चय-
चिन्ता कथमिति वाच्यम् । तच्च क्रयाणामेव विकल्पादिचिन्तनात्
तथा चैकक्रियावशीकृतयोर्द्रव्यगुणयोः परस्परावच्छेदकलसिद्धिः । गुणो
हि अन्यथानुपपत्त्या अश्रुतं यद्व्यमाच्चिपति तत् श्रुतैकहायनौकः
क्रयो न गृह्णाति । तथा एकहायन्यपि यं गुणमश्रुतमानयति तं
श्रुतारणिमगुणकः क्रयो न गृह्णाति । एवं च श्रुतयोरेव परस्पर-
सम्बन्धेन परिपूर्णलात् नाश्रुतकल्पनावकाशः । एवं च वाक्यगतमपि
सामानाधिकरणं समर्थितम्॑ ।

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, दृ० ६३६ ।

२-३ शास्त्रदीपिका, दृ० २६२ ।

४ अत्र तन्त्रवार्त्तिकानुरूपाः पञ्चत्यः, दृ० ७०६-७१० ।

यस्तु प्रकारेण निवेद्यं मन्त्रते तस्य गुणविधायकमेव दुर्लभम् ।
अहेणापदस्य विधिशक्तिविरहात् । प्रयोगविधेष्य क्रियामाच-
याहकत्वात् । तस्मादेकवाक्यातानियमश्चेति सिद्धम् ॥

७ ग्रहसमार्जनाधिकरणम् ।

एकत्वयुक्तमेकस्य श्रुतिसंयोगात् ॥ १३ ॥

ज्योतिषोमे श्रुतं ‘यहं समाष्टी’ति ।

तत्र किं यहैकलं विवक्षितमुत नेति संशयः ।

यद्यप्यपौरुषेयवेदे वक्तीच्छारूपा विवक्षा न सम्भवत्येव तथापि
न्यायगम्यो विधिशक्तयधौनः परिग्रहात् न विवक्षा ।

यदा—

“न्यायेन संप्रदायाद्वा ये मौमांसकव्याज्ञिकाः ।

वेदं व्याचते तेषामभिप्रायोऽयमुच्यते^१ ॥

तत्र श्रुतिबलाद्यद्वत् संख्योपादेयगामिनौ ।

विवक्षिता तथोद्देश्यगता श्रुत्यविशेषतः^२ ” ॥

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“जातेरमूर्त्त्वादिह ज्योतिषोमापूर्वसाधनानि इव्याणि तथा
लक्ष्यन्ते । तानि च संमार्गं प्रति यदि गुणमूलानि स्फुर्यां ग्रन्थानि
पशुरिव ततो येन केनापि सिद्धेन्द्रं सर्वत्र संमार्गः क्रियते । न हि
यावद्युणं प्रधानावृत्तिः । ततश्च क्रियता इव्येण संमार्गः कर्तव्य
इत्यपेक्षायां परिच्छेदकलेन संख्या विधीयते पश्चेकलवत् । इह तु
संमार्गं प्रति इव्याणि प्रधानानि द्वितीयानिर्देशात् प्रयोजन-

^१ तन्त्रवाचिक, दृ० ७१७-७१८ ।

^२ शास्त्रदीपिका, दृ० १५३ ।

वत्त्वाच्च । प्रतिप्रधानं च गुणादृच्छिरिति निश्चयात्र परिच्छेदकाङ्क्षा । अतः श्रुतापि संख्यानादर्तव्या । परिच्छेदकतया हि तत्याः क्रियान्वयः । न च परिच्छेदोऽपरिच्छिक्षे भवतीति दाराभावान्त्र
क्रियान्वयः संख्यायाः । न च सर्वद्रव्यसंमार्गं प्राप्ते एकवचनश्रुतिः परिसंख्यार्थिति वाच्यम् । तत्यास्त्रिलोघत्वात् । न चैवं परिसंख्यो-
च्छेदः^१ “ यत्र सामान्यप्रापणमानुमानिकवाक्यलभ्यं विशेषे च प्रत्यक्षवाक्यात्माप्तिर्थया मामगृहणवशनामृतस्येत्यश्वाभिधानीमादत्त
इत्यत्र तत्र फलतः परिसंख्येति व्यवहारात् वस्तुतस्तु सर्वस्याप्यपूर्व-
विधिलिपात् । न च तत्र चिदोघता । प्रत्यक्षश्रुत्या श्रीब्रह्मप्रदा(ट ?)त्या अश्वाभिधान्यां विनियुक्तस्य मन्त्रस्य निराकांचलेन लैङ्गिकश्रुति-
कल्पनाया एव तत्र निरोधात् ।

आह च—

“ सामान्यप्रापणाशङ्का वाक्याद्यत्रानुमानिकात् ।

श्रुताव्याप्तिर्विशेषे च परिसंख्या तदाश्रयाः^२ ॥

अप्राप्तविधिरेवायमतो मन्त्रस्य निश्चितः ।

परिसंख्याफलेनोक्ता न विशेषपुनःश्रुतेः^३ ” ॥

किंच—

“ यहस्य संस्कृतेवत्प्रधानं गुण एव वा ।

सर्वथा वाक्यभेदः स्थादतो नास्य विधियताः^४ ” ॥

यहोद्देशेन हि संमार्गस्य एकलस्य विधानेऽर्थद्रव्यविधानादाक्ष्य-
भेदः । एकलस्य च यहस्तरूपमात्रोपक्षयात् संमार्गविशेषकतया

^१ शास्त्रदैपिका, पृ० १६३-१६४ ।

^२ तत्त्ववाच्चिक, पृ० ७२७ ।

^३ तत्त्ववाच्चिक, पृ० ७२६ ।

^४ शास्त्रदैपिका, पृ० १६४ ।

सर्वसंमार्गप्रसङ्गः । न च संमार्गनिति यहे एकलविधिः । संमार्गस्य
विधेयतया उद्देश्यपरिशेषणलायोगात् । अथैकलविशिष्टयहानुवादेन
संमार्गविधिस्त्वाहि सर्वेषां प्रत्येकसेकलात् स्यादेव प्रसङ्गः । न
चैकलविशिष्टसमार्गविधिः । तथायेकलस्य द्वितीयाश्रुत्या प्राधा-
न्यावगमात् प्रतिप्रधानं संमार्गाद्यापत्तिः (?) । न च सकु-
वत् लक्षणया गुणलभ्य । मुख्यार्थसम्भवे तदयोगात् । तथा सति
ग्रहस्थापि गुणलापत्तेश्च । न हि सद्वपन्ना(सकृदुपान्ना?) द्वितीया-
(विभक्तिः?) यहस्य प्राधान्यं श्रुत्या वक्तुमेकलस्य च गुणत्वं लक्षयितुं
चक्षते । पश्चौ तु इवस्य निधयोजनलात् सकुवदगुणाभावे कल्पिते
जानिद्रव्यसंख्यालिङ्गानां उपादेयत्वाद्वैरूप्याद्विशिष्टैकभावनाविधि-
रिति वैषम्यम्^१ । अत्रानुवाद्यविशेषणमविवक्तिं विधेयविशेषणं तु
विवक्तिम् । न द्वद्देश्यलोपादेयत्वयोरादरः । तेन ब्राह्मणः सुरां
पिवेदित्यादौ उपादेयस्यापि ब्राह्मणस्यानुवाद्यतया लिङ्गाविवक्तारै ।

“ नोपादेयत्वमेवैकं कारणलेन सम्भवतम् ।

विशेषणविवक्तायाः कारणं हि महद्विधिः^२ ” ॥

८ चमसादौ संमार्गद्यप्रयोगाधिकरणम् ।

संस्कारादा गुणानामव्यवस्था स्यात् ॥ १६ ॥

एकलवत् यहस्यमर्थविवक्तिमुताविवक्तिमिति विचारः । “तत्र
संमार्गैर्युक्ते सोमावसेकनिर्हरणप्रयोजनतया सोमपात्राणामित्यव-
गमाद्वयः कस्येत्यपेक्षाविरहाद्विवक्तिं महत्त्वम् ।

१ अत्र तन्त्रवार्तिकानुरूपाः पञ्चयो द्रष्टव्याः, इ० ७४४ ।

२ अत्रापि तन्त्रवार्तिकानुरूपाः पञ्चयो द्रष्टव्याः, इ० १४१ ।

३ तन्त्रवार्तिक, इ० १४१ ।

किं च—

सोमयागस्यैकत्वात्त्यूर्वमपि एकमेव । तत्प्राधननिवेशी च
संमार्गश्चमसेष्यपि भवितुमर्हति । अवघातादीनां त्वपूर्वभेदाङ्गवस्थेति
वैषम्यमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

न हि ग्रहविवक्षायां वाक्यभेदः प्रसञ्चते ।

यागैकत्वेऽप्यपूर्वाणि भिद्यन्तेऽभ्यासभेदतः ॥

अवश्यं हि सम्मार्गः कस्य चिदिधातव्यः । तत्र शब्दोपनौतं
यद्यसुलङ्घुं सामर्थ्यलभ्यं सोमपाचमाचयहणं न युक्तम् ।
एकस्यापि च यागस्य प्रत्यभ्यासमपूर्वं भिद्यते । अन्यथाभ्यासानां
संहत्यकारित्वायोगात् । ततश्च ग्रहशब्दलक्षितापूर्वविशेषनिबन्धनः
संमार्गो न चमसेषु कर्तव्यः^१ ” ॥

६ सप्तदशारबितायाः पशुधर्मताधिकरणम् ।

आनर्थक्यात्तदंगेषु ॥ १८ ॥

‘सप्तदशारबिवर्जपेयस्य यूप’ इति श्रूयते ।

तत्र किं सप्तदशारबिलं वाजपेयसाधनमृतोर्ध्वपाचद्वारेण वाज-
पेयाङ्गमुत यूपद्वारेण पश्चात्मिति संशयः ।

तत्र वाजपेयस्येति षष्ठ्या तस्मान्व्यूर्ध्वपाचमुहिष्य विधीयमानं
सप्तदशारबिलं तद्वारेण वाजपेयाङ्गम् । यूपशब्दसु ऊर्ध्ववत्त-
खादिरत्वादिगुणयोगात् षोडशपाचस्यैवानुवादः । स च जघन्यत्वाच्च
दोषः । न च वाजपेयस्य यो यूप इति सम्बन्धः । यूपस्य
पशुसम्बन्धितात् वाजपेयस्य शब्दस्य खाङ्गपशुलक्षकत्वापत्तेः । न
च मुख्यस्य लक्षणा युक्ता । तस्माद्यूर्ध्वपाचे निवेश इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

^१ शास्त्रदैपिका, पृ० १५५-१५६ ।

“ स्यादेवं यदि यूपेन सम्बन्धे लक्षणा भवेत् ।
 वाजपेयश्रुतेनासौ श्रुतिवृत्तैव सा यतः ॥
 षष्ठी सम्बन्धमाचार्या नाङ्गाङ्गिलमपेचते ।
 नाप्यववधिसम्बन्धं देवदत्तस्य नमृवत् ॥
 यूपस्य च पशुदारा वाजपेयोपकारतः ।
 सम्बन्धमाचमस्यैव क्रतुनातो न लक्षणा ॥
 भवतस्तु भवेदेव यूपशब्दस्य लक्षणा ।
 तेन सप्तदशारबिर्यूप इत्येव सङ्गतिः ॥ ” ॥

१० अभिक्रमणादौनां प्रयाजभाचाङ्गताधिकारणम् ॥
 कर्तृगणे तु कर्मासमवायाद्वाक्यभेदः स्यात् ॥ १६ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः प्रयाजसमीपे श्रूयते—‘अभिकामं जुहोती’ति
 “होमानुवादेन विधीयमानमभिक्रमणं किं प्राकरणिकसर्वहोमाङ्गं
 उत प्रयाजहोमस्यैवेति संशयः । तदर्थमवान्तरप्रकरणमस्ति न वेति
 चिन्थयते । तत्र—

फलवद्वावनोङ्गृतकथंभावतिरोहिताः ।
 नैवांगानां कथंभावाः प्रादुष्यन्ति तमन्तरा ॥
 प्रादुष्युर्यदि चाङ्गानां कथंभावास्तो मिथः ।
 तेषामङ्गाङ्गितापत्तेरव्यवस्था प्रसज्यते ॥

१ अत्र शास्त्रदीपिकायां निम्नलिखिता अपि कारिका: पश्चन्ते—

“ ऊर्ध्वपाचेण सम्बन्धे यूपशब्दस्य गौणता ।

अनन्तरेण सम्बन्धः प्रधानेन च सङ्गतिः ॥

प्रक्रियानुग्रहस्यैव नादत्यः श्रुतिवाधतः ।

तेन सप्तदशारबिर्यूप इत्येव सङ्गतिः ॥ ” ॥

‘भवतस्तु’त्यादि पञ्चित्तु वापि न इश्वते ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० १५६-१६७ ।

तस्मान्नावान्तरप्रकरणम्^१” । न च तदभावेऽपि सन्निधि-
माचेणाभिक्रमणस्य प्रयाजाङ्गतास्त्रिति वाच्यम् । बलौयसा प्रकरणेन
दर्शपूर्णमासभावनया सम्बन्धात् । तस्मान्तदीयसकलहोमाङ्गमभि-
क्रमणमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“ भवेदेवं प्रयाजानां नास्ति प्रकरणं यदि ।

तेषां वचनसंयुक्ता ये गुणा विहिताः पुरा ॥

पश्चाच्च ये विधायन्ते तैः सन्दृष्टमिदं श्रुतम् ।

अभिक्रामं जुहोतीति न ततोऽन्यच गच्छति ॥

प्रयाजान् विधाय समानयत उपभूत दत्यादिगुणान्विधाय
अभिक्रामं जुहोतीयुक्ता ‘यो वै प्रयाजानां भिदुनमि’त्यादौ
प्रयाजानिद्वा हवौष्ठभिधारयतीति यावत् प्रयाजपरामर्शदर्शनान्त-
न्यथ्यपतितमभिनिक्रमणं तदङ्गमेव । अस्ति ह्यङ्गभावनानामय-
विज्ञातप्रकारत्वात् कथमित्याकाङ्क्षा ।

तथापि—

न विद्यते तु संदंशो यत्र वाचनिकैर्गुणैः ।

तत्राङ्गानां कथंभावः सन्नप्यविनियोजकः ॥

निष्पल्लेन सर्वेषां न विशेषोऽवगम्यते ।

कः ग्रेषः कस्य ग्रेषिलमतः सर्वं प्रधानगम् ॥

अव्यवस्थाप्रसक्तिश्च योक्ता सैवं निराकृता ।

सन्दंशे सति संदृष्टं तदङ्गमितरत्पुनः ॥

सर्वं प्रधानगमीति नाव्यवस्था प्रसञ्चते^२” ।

एकदेशिनां तु अवान्तरप्रकरणानभ्युपगमात् सर्वार्थमभिक्रमणं
खादिति दूषणं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

^१ शास्त्रदैपिका, पृ० १६८ ।

^२ शास्त्रदैपिका, पृ० १६८-१६९ ।

११ उपवीतस्य प्राकरणिकाङ्गताधिकरणम् ।

सन्दिग्धे तु व्यवायादावधभेदः स्यात् ॥ २१ ॥

“दर्शपूर्णमासयोः सामिधेनौर्विधाय चिःप्रथमामन्वाहेत्यादिभिर्वचनैस्तासां गुणान् विधाय निविदो नाम मन्वा देवेद्वो मन्त्रिद्वा इत्याद्यो विहिताः । ततः काम्याः सामिधेनौकल्प्या विहिताः । तदनन्तरं यज्ञोपवीतमान्वात् ‘उपव्ययते देवलक्ष्मभेव तत्कुरुत’ इति । ततः पुनरपि सामिधेनौनाभेव वाचनिका गुणा विधास्त्वन्ते अन्तरानूच्यं सदेवलायेति ।

तदचोपवीतं प्रति संशयः—सामिधेन्यज्ञसुत दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गमिति । तदर्थं च किं सामिधेनौनामवान्तरप्रकरणं निविद्विर्विच्छिन्नमुतोपवीतविधावनुवर्तत इति ।

अनुष्टुप्तौ तदङ्गत्वं विच्छिन्ने दर्शग्रेषता ।

किं प्राप्तमुभयचापि कौतनादनुवर्तते ॥

पुरस्तादुपवीतस्य परस्ताच्चापि कौतनम् ।

विद्यते सामिधेनौनामतः प्रकरणालिता ॥

निविदामपि तादर्थं तत्क्यंभावसङ्गतेः ।

न चाङ्गैर्व्यवधीयन्ते प्रधानानि कथंचन ॥

काम्येष्वयाऽश्यव्यवेन तासामथनुवर्तनम् ।

उपवीतमतस्तासामङ्गं प्रकरणाङ्गवेत् ॥

एवं प्राप्ते वदामोऽत्र निविद्विर्व्यवधानतः ।

विच्छिन्ना सामिधेनौनां प्रक्रिया नानुवर्तते ॥

यत्तु निविदोऽश्यव्यवेन्तरप्रकरणेन सामिधेन्यज्ञत्वादव्यवधायका इति तत्र । लिंगेन प्रकरणं बाधिला निविदामग्निसमित्यनाङ्गतात् । तेनासम्बन्धिभिर्निवित्यदैर्दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गैर्विच्छिन्नं सामिधेनौनां प्रकरणं नोपवीतं गृह्णाति ।

नन्वेवं निविदामेवाङ्गं तत् । तासां प्रकरणाभावात् । तस्मा-
त्प्रकरणाद्गपूर्णमासाङ्गमेवोपवीतमिति^१” सिद्धम् ॥

१२ गुणानां मिथोऽसम्बन्धाधिकरणम् ।

गुणानां च परार्थत्वात् असम्बन्धः समत्वात्स्यात् ॥२२॥

“आधानप्रकरणे वारणवैकंकतानि पात्राणि शूयन्ते—वारणे
यज्ञावच्चरो वैकंकतो यज्ञावच्चर इति पवमानेष्टयोऽयाधानप्रकरणे
एव प्रदेशान्तरे श्रुताः ।

तत्र पात्रेषु सन्देहः किं पवमानेष्टङ्गमुत यज्ञमात्राङ्गमिति ।
तदर्थं च किं पवमानहवौश्चाधानाङ्गमुत तान्यथाधानेन सम-
प्रधानान्यग्न्यर्थानीति^२” ।

किं प्राप्तं “आधानस्य द्वितीयासंयुक्ताग्निसंखारार्थतथा फल-
वच्चादफलानि पवमानहवौषि प्रकरणात्तदङ्गम^३” । तथा च
यज्ञसम्बन्धात् साक्षादाधानेऽसंभवन्यपि पात्राणि आनर्थक्यात्तदङ्ग-
न्यायेन पवमानहविःषु^४ निविश्वल इति ।

अत्रोच्यते—

“यदाहवनीये जुहोतीति वाक्यादेषामग्न्यर्थता । नन्वनारभ्य-
वादोऽयं सर्वहोमांगमाहवनीयं विधत्ते न त्वाहवनीयाङ्गलं पवमान-
हविषामिति चेत्—

अनारभ्यविधानेन सत्यं नाग्न्यर्थता भवेत् ।

तनुल्यं वाक्यमस्यन्यत्पवमानेष्टिसंनिधौ ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ष० २००-२०१ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, ष० २०२ ।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, ष० २०३ ।

४ ‘पवमानेष्टिष्विति’ शास्त्रदीपिकाभिसतः पाठः, ष० २०३ ।

तेन चार्ण्यर्थतया पवमानहवौषि विधीयन्ते । सप्तमी च साध्यत्वं लक्ष्यति । तप्ते पद्मसि दधानयतौतिवत् । तप्तमादाक्षे-नाधानवत् पवमानहविषामर्ण्यर्थलाङ्गाधानाङ्गलम् । अतः सर्व-यज्ञार्थानि पाचाणीति^१” भाष्यकाराः ।

आचार्याङ्कु “किमनेनाश्रुतवाक्यकल्पनाक्षेपेन अन्यथायेतदुप-पद्यत एव । भवन्तु नाम पवमानहवौष्ट्याधानाङ्गं तथापि न तत्र पाचाणि भवन्ति । वाजपेयस्य यूप इति हि यूपग्रहणात् व्यवहित-सम्बन्धेऽपि च षष्ठ्युपत्तेत्यथा कल्पितम् । न लिहैवं किंचिदस्ति ।

यत् यज्ञावचरण्हणं तत्प्रकृतयज्ञाभावात् अनारभ्यवादरूपेण सर्वत्र विद्धाति । तत्त्वैतत्पूषाद्यनुमंत्रणन्यायेनैव सेत्यतौति नार्थोधि-करणेन । सूत्रं तु पूर्वस्यैव ।

ननु निविदां सामिधेन्यंगलान्न व्यवधायकलमत आह—‘गुणानां च परार्थलादिति^२” निगदव्याख्यातम् ॥

१३ वार्चद्यधिकरणम् ।

मिथश्वानर्थसम्बन्धात् ॥ २३ ॥

“दर्शपूर्णमासयोराग्नेयः सौम्यश्वाज्यभागौ विहितौ । तयोः क्रमेणानुवाक्याचतुष्टयमाङ्गातं आग्नेयोसौमीत्येकं युगलं पुनराग्नेयो-सौमी चेत्यपरम् । तत्र प्रथमदितीये वार्चद्यौ वृत्तीयाचतुर्थी च वृधन्वत्यौ । तत्रापरं वचनं वार्चन्नी पौर्णमास्यामनूच्येते वृधन्वती अभावाख्यायामिति ।

तत्र संशयः किमाज्यभागयोः क्रमप्राप्ता मंत्रास्त्राभ्यामाच्छिद्य वचनेन प्रधानाङ्गतया विधीयन्ते उताज्यभागयोरेवाव्यवस्थया

^१ श्राव्यदौषिका, ष० २०३, २०५ ।

^२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, ष० ७५५ ।

प्राप्नयोर्द्युगल्योर्वचस्यामाचमिति । तदर्थं चास्मिन्वचने पौर्णमास्य-
मावास्याशब्दौ कर्मवचनावृत कालवचनाविति । तच—

कालस्यास्मरणैयत्वाच्च मन्त्रेण प्रयोजनम् ।

नापि प्रकरणन्तस्य तेन नासाविहोच्यते ॥

कर्मणः प्रकृतत्वेन मन्त्रापेक्षतया पि च ।

तप्यौर्णमास्यमावास्याशब्दाभ्यामभिधीयते ॥

सप्तमी च पूर्वद्युरमावास्यायां वेदिमितिवत् प्रधानेष्विरुद्धा ।
तस्माद्वाक्येन क्रमं बाधित्वा प्रधानार्थं मन्त्रा इति ।

नैवं, यद्यपि कर्मव शब्दाभ्यां प्रतिपाद्यते तथापि सप्तमीश्चित्या
न प्रधानवच्चसम्भवः । पूर्वद्युरमावास्यायामिति तु लक्षणा । न चेह
तथा । मुख्यार्थसम्भवात् ।

किञ्च नेह सौम्यस्य मन्त्रस्य प्रधानेषु सामर्थ्यमस्ति । सोमस्य
प्रधानदेवतालाभावात् । अग्नीषोमीयेऽप्यग्निसहितस्य देवतालं न
तु निरपेक्षस्य अमावास्यायां तु नास्त्वेव सोमः । तस्माद्वाक्यस्यामाच-
मपेक्षितमल्पत्वं च विधीयते । पौर्णमासौगतयोराज्यभागयोवाच्चौ
अमावास्यागतयोर्वृद्धचत्वाविति^१ ” ॥

१४ हस्तावनेजनादीनां क्षत्रप्राकरणिकाङ्गताधि-
करणम् ।

आनन्दर्यमचोदना ॥ २४ ॥

“दर्शपूर्णमासयोरान्नायते ‘हस्ताववने निके उलपराजिं सूर्णा-
तौ’ति । तथा ज्योतिषोमे ‘मुष्टीकरोति वाचं यच्छ्रति दीक्षित-
मावेदयतौ’ति ।

^१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ष० २०६-२०७ ।

तत्र हस्तावनेजनं हस्तसंखारार्थम् । मुष्टीकरणवाग्यमने च
मनप्रणिधानार्थे । तेन तत् चयमपि लिङ्गाल्करिष्यमाणकर्मज्ञं
सत् किमनन्तरयोरुल्पराजिस्तरणदीक्षितावेदनयोरङ्गमुत सर्वाङ्ग-
मिति संशयः ।

तत्रानन्तर्यादेकवाक्यत्वादवान्तरप्रकरणादा तत्त्वात्ताङ्गते प्राप्ते-
भिधीयते—

लिङ्गप्रकरणाभ्यां हि सर्वार्थत्वं प्रतीयते ।

क्रमश्च दुर्लभस्त्वाभ्यामतः सर्वार्थता भवेत् ॥

न चास्यातद्वयस्य अच्छब्दाद्युपबन्धं विना एकवाक्यत्वं सम्भवति
येन वाक्येनैव तादर्थं स्यात्, न च श्रुत्यादिविहिताङ्गसंदर्शोऽस्ति
येनावान्तरप्रकरणं स्यात् । तस्मात्सर्वार्थत्वैव ॥

१५ चतुर्धाकरणादैनामाग्नेयमात्राङ्गताधिकरणम् ।

शेषस्तु गुणसंयुक्तः साधारणः प्रतीयेत मिथ-
संषामसम्बन्धात् ॥ २६ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोराग्नेयाग्नीषोमीचन्द्राग्नाः पुरोडाशाः ।

तत्राग्नेयं चतुर्धा करोतीति चतुर्धाकरणं किं सर्वेषामुताग्नेयस्यैवेति
संशयः । तत्र—

“ अग्निसम्बन्धमात्रेण भवेद्व्योपलक्षणम् ।

सम्बन्धश्चाविशिष्टोऽतः सर्वेषामुपलक्षणम् ॥ ”

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रह्मः—

“ केवलादेवतावाचौ तद्वितोऽग्नेः समुच्चरन् ।

नान्ययुक्ताग्निदेवत्यं प्रतिपादयितुं चमः ॥ ”

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, द१० २०७-२०८ ।

२-३ शास्त्रदीपिका, द१० २०८ ।

न चायं सम्बन्धमात्रे प्रत्ययः सर्वत्राग्निकलिभ्यां ढक् वक्तव्य
इति स्मरणादिति वाच्यम् । इह देवतार्थ्यात्र (देवतार्थसैवात्र?)
वोचितवात् । प्रसिद्धसम्बन्धं हि लक्षणं भवति । प्रसिद्धिश्च विधि-
वाक्याद्यत्ता । तत्र चाग्नेर्देवतालमेवावगतम् । तस्माद्ग्रीष्मेयस्यैव
चतुर्धारकरणम् ।

अदपि शतपथब्राह्मणे ‘तं चतुर्धारा क्लावा पुरोडाशं बर्हिषदं
करोती’ति सामान्यवचनं तदपि अनेनैव वचनेन उपसंहित्यते ।

यत्तु कात्यायनेनोक्तं ‘अविशेषादुभौ वे’ति तत् व्यायविरोधा-
दनादर्त्तव्यमित्याचार्याः^१ ।

तदाङ्गः—

“सत्यमस्ति श्रुतिर्येयमविशेषेण दृश्यते ।

विशेषे स्थाप्यते सा तु नित्यं शाखान्तरौयथ्याः^२” ॥

इति श्रीमीमांसाश्रास्त्रसर्वस्य तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

अथ तृतीयाध्याये द्वितीयः पादः ।

—००१—

१ मुख्यं विनियोगाधिकरणम् ।

अर्थाभिधानसंयोगान्मन्त्रेषु शेषभावः स्यात्स्मा-
दुत्पत्तिसम्बन्धोऽर्थेन नित्यसंयोगात् ॥ १ ॥

आद्यपादे श्रुतिविनियोगश्चिन्तिः । ददानौ लिङ्गविनि-
योगश्चिन्त्यते । विनियोगकलं च यद्यपि लिङ्गस्य मन्त्राधिकरण

^१ कुमारिलभट्टाचार्यासन्त्ववार्त्तिके, श० ७६१ ।

^२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, श० ७६१ ।

एव सिद्धं, अर्थप्रकाशनेनोपकुर्वन्तीत्यभिहितलात् तथापि किं मुख्य
एवार्थं विनियोग उत गौणेऽपौति विशेषश्चिन्तयते ।

तत्र—

“अर्थानां स्मरणार्हलाभमन्वाणां चापि शक्तिः ।

प्रतिप्रधानमादृत्तेर्गणानामुभयार्थता॑” ॥

गौणानां मुख्यानां चार्थानां अनुष्टुप्यलात् स्मरणमपेक्षितं मन्वा-
र्थार्थं प्रति गुणभूताः समर्थश्च वयाकथच्छित्सारचितुं साक्षात्-
श(?)खकिच्छित्करः । प्रतिप्रधानं च गुणादृत्तिन्याय्या, तस्मादुभयच-
विनियोग इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“गौणे सदपि सामर्थ्यं न प्रमाणान्तराद्विना ।

आविर्भवति मुख्ये तु शब्दादेवाविरस्ति तत् ॥

तात्पर्यं च खतो मुख्ये गौणार्थपरता पुनः ।

प्रमाणान्तरविज्ञेया तद्भावान्व सिध्यति॑” ॥

एवच्च प्रथमावगतमुख्यविनियोगेनैव कृतार्थलाभमन्वो निरा-
काङ्क्षः । गौणोर्थोऽपि ध्यानाद्युपायान्तरेणापि स्मृतिसिद्धेन्व मन्व-
मपेक्षते । अतः प्रामाणिकस्तत्र विनियोगः । मुख्ये तु मन्वाकांचा-
वशाद्विनियोगः ।

यस्य तु मुख्योर्थः प्रकरणे नास्ति तस्योत्कर्षः । यथा
पूषाद्यनुमन्वणमन्वाणाम् ।

यस्य द्रुक्षर्थोऽपि न सम्भवति तस्य जपमाचेषोपयोगः । न तु
गौणलं, अप्रामाणिकलात् । तस्मात् ‘वर्हिदैवसदनं हामौ’त्येतद्ग्र-
च्छेदेन (?) एव विनियुज्यते न तु गौणेऽपि ॥

१ शास्त्रदैपिका, द१० २१० ।

२ शास्त्रदैपिका, द१० २१० ।

**२ ऐन्द्रीन्याये (ऐन्द्रागार्हपत्ये) विनियोगाधि-
करणम् ।**

वचनात्त्वयथार्थमैन्द्री स्यात् ॥ ३ ॥

अपवादोऽयम् । अग्नौ श्रूयते ‘निवेशनः सङ्गमनो वसूला-
मित्यैन्द्रा गार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठत’ इति शाखान्तरे तु ‘कदत्तचन
खरीरसि नेन्द्रसञ्च सिदाशुषे’ इति चक्षु पर्यते ।

तत्र संशयः—किमनेन मन्त्रेण विनियोगार्थवर्णना । तथा च
गार्हपत्यशब्देन यज्ञसाधनसामर्थ्यात् गौण्या वृत्त्या इन्द्र एवोच्यते ।
एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“गौणलं यत्र नाम स्थात्कच्छ्राह्मणमन्वयोः ।

तन्नानुवादरूपत्वान्मन्वाणां गौणतेष्यते^१ ॥

स्थादग्नेगौणमिन्द्रलं यज्ञसम्बन्धकारितम् ।

इन्द्रत्यर्थानुसाराद्वा खकार्यं सोऽपि हौश्वरः^२” ॥

तस्मात् श्रौतविनियोगानुरोधेन मन्त्रो गौणार्थक इति सिद्धम् ।
एवं सति खिङ्गादिन्द्रार्थता भवति न वेति वलाबलाधिकरणे
चिन्तयिष्यते ॥

३ आह्वानविनियोगाधिकरणम् ।

तथाह्वानमपौति चेत् ॥ ५ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोरान्वायते । ‘हविष्कृदेहौति चिरवन्नवाङ्गय-
तौ’ति ।

तत्र किमयं मन्त्रो गौणेवघाते प्रयोक्तव्यः उत सुखे आङ्गान
इति संशयः ।

^१ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ७७० ।

^२ तन्त्रवार्तिक, पृ० ७७१ ।

तदर्थच्च किमवन्नक्रियवधातमुद्दिश्य मन्त्रो विधीयते । किं वा
मन्त्रस्थाक्षानेन सम्बन्धः । हन्तिसु कालखण्डार्थः । हविष्कृदेहौति
चिराङ्गयति अवधातकाल इति । तत्र—

“पूर्वाधिकरणन्यायादिधौ युक्ता न लक्षणा ।

मन्त्रस्थ लब्धयार्थलं वचनाक्षैव दुष्ट्यति^१” ॥

तस्मादवधाताङ्गं मन्त्र इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“तस्मादत्र चिरभ्यासो विधातव्यस्थथा सति ।

मन्त्रस्थ न विधिः शक्यो वाक्यभेदप्रसङ्गतः ॥

आङ्गानेन तु मन्त्रस्थ योगो हन्तेसु लक्षणार्थः” ॥

अवधातकाले सहायाक्षानमर्थप्राप्तम् । अतोऽनुवादमात्रम्—
हन्तिः । अनुवादे च न लक्षणादोषः । तवापि ब्राह्मणे आङ्गयते—
गौणत्वम् । एहौति शब्दोच्चारणसाम्यमात्रेण तत्प्रयोगात् ।

किञ्च एहौति परप्रेषणरूपस्य मध्यमपुरुषस्य हविष्कृदिति च
सम्बोधनरूपस्य अचेतनेऽवधाते सामर्थ्यमेव नास्ति । तस्माक्षिङ्गप्राप्त—
मन्त्रानुवादेन चिरावृत्तिमात्रं विधीयते आङ्गानाङ्गमेव च मन्त्रो न
लावधाताङ्गम् ॥

४ अग्निविहरणादिग्रकाशकमन्त्रविनियोगाधिकरणम् ।

तथोत्थानविसर्जने ॥ १० ॥

ज्योतिष्ठोमे समामनन्ति—‘उच्चिष्ठन्वाहाश्वीन्विहरेति तथा ब्रतं
चरतेति वाचं विस्तृजतौ’ति ।

तत्र सन्देहः—किमुत्थानं वाग्विसर्जनच्च प्रतिमन्त्रयोरूपदेश उत
कालार्थः संयोग इति ।

^१ शास्त्रदैपिका, पृ० २१२ ।

^२ शास्त्रदैपिका, पृ० २१३ ।

तत्र पूर्वपञ्चसिद्धान्तौ प्राप्तत् । निरभ्यासपरबात् पूर्वच मन्त्रोप-
देशो न जातः इह तु अङ्गाङ्गिलपञ्चेऽपि वाक्यभेदो नास्तीति
विशेषाशङ्का श्रुतिविनियोगाभावात् । मन्त्रलिङ्गविरोधाच्च कालार्थं
एवेह संयोगः । कालश्चेह विधीयते । न पूर्ववदनूद्यत इति विशेषः ॥

५ सूक्तवाकस्य प्रस्तरप्रहरणाङ्गताधिकरणम् ।

सूक्तवाके च कालविधिः परार्थत्वात् ॥ ११ ॥

‘सूक्तवाकेन प्रस्तरं प्रहरतौ’ति ।

तत्र किं सूक्तवाकस्य काललच्चकलमुत प्रहरणाङ्गत्वमिति संशयः ।

किं प्राप्तं कालार्थसंयोग इति । यथा दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यामिद्वा
सोमेन यजतेति उभयोः क्षतार्थत्वात् कालार्थसंयोगस्थेहापि सूक्त-
वाकस्येष्टदेवताभिधानेन क्षतार्थत्वात्प्रहरणस्य च सुग्राहारणाद्युपयुक्त-
प्रस्तरप्रतिपादनेन प्रयोजनवत्वात् । तत्रापि निर्जातकालत्वात् सूक्त-
वाकः प्रहरणकालं लक्ष्यति । इत्यम्भूतखण्डे च हतौया । न हि
कथच्चिदपि देवताभिधायिनः सूक्तवाकस्य प्रहरणाङ्गता सम्भवति ।
प्रहरणे देवताभावात् । एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

हतौयाश्रुत्या सूक्तवाकः करणम् । यद्यपौष्टदेवताप्रकाशनेन
क्षतार्थोऽसौ तथापि वचनाद्विनियुक्ते । श्रुतिविनियुक्तमन्त्रवत्तादेव
च तदभिधेयाभिरिष्टदेवताभिः सह प्रकरणस्य संयोगे कल्पिते
प्रहरतिपरमिष्टदेवतासंस्कारार्थैः होमः फलति । तेनेष्टदेवता-
प्रकाशनं कुर्वत एव सूक्तवाकस्य प्रहरणाङ्गत्वं सिद्धम् ।

यन्तु लक्षणे हतौयेति तत्र । कारकविभक्तेवलौयस्त्वात् । तथा
हि—लक्षणक्रियागर्भः सम्बन्धो वाच्यः । सा च नेहोपात्ता ।

१ ‘प्रहरतिरिष्टदेवते’त्यादि पाठः शास्त्रदैपिकादासु पञ्चभ्यते, पृ० २१६ ।

उपान्तक्रियासम्बन्धसु नान्यापेच इति बलौद्यान् । तथा च लिङ्गं सूक्तवाक एव याज्या प्रस्तर आङ्गरिति एवकारसु अयाज्यायां याज्योपचारं दर्शयति । न च मुख्यमेव तथात्वमस्तिति वाच्यम् । होमाङ्गस्य तदयोगात् । निगदानां तन्निषेधाच्च । आह च—

“न च प्रहरणं यागरूपमाचैऽवतिष्ठते ।

होम एव लयं स्थष्टः प्रक्षेपाधिक्यचोदनात् ॥

आधारादि यथा द्रव्यज्ञारणाङ्गोभिताङ्गतम् ।

तथा प्रक्षेपहृपत्वाङ्गरणस्यापि होमता ॥

होमाङ्गस्य च याज्यात्वं न कस्य चिदपौष्ट्रते ।

निगदवादिशेषेण सूक्तवाके निषिधते ।

अयाज्या एव निगदा च्छैव यजतीति हि” ॥

इं सूक्तवाकानामर्थानुसारेण विनियोगाधिकरणम् ।

क्षत्प्रोपदेशादुभयच सर्ववचनम् ॥ १५ ॥

प्रहरणाङ्गं सूक्तवाक इति स्थितम् ।

स किं पौर्णमास्याभमावास्यायां च क्षत्प्रः प्रयोक्तव्य उतेष्ट-
देवतानुरोधेन विभज्येति संशयः ।

तत्र आग्नेयादिभावनानां घण्टामपि अन्योन्यनिरपेक्षाणामेव
कथंभावात्मकप्रकरणवत्त्वादेकैकस्य कर्मणः सकलसूक्तवाकोऽङ्गं
प्रयोजादिवत् सूक्तवाकशब्दश्च समस्तानुवाकवचनः । एवं स्थिते
एककालवर्तिनां त्रयाणां तत्त्वेण प्रयोजादिवदुपकरोतीति भेदेन न
प्रयोक्त्यते । समुदायद्वये तु कालभेदात्मकलस्यैकावृत्तिः । तत्रा-
विद्यमानार्थानि पदान्यदृष्टार्थानि गौणानि वेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

१ ‘यागसाचरूपे’ इति तन्त्रवार्त्तिकसुद्वितपुस्तकपाठः ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, दृ० ७०३-७०८ ।

“सूक्तवाकशब्दस्यावयवयुत्पत्त्या इष्टदेवताप्रकाशमन्त्रपकरलभेव^१
युक्तं सूक्तं वक्तीति हि सूक्तवाकः । तेन चस्मिन्प्रयोगे यावत्यो याश्च
देवता इष्टाः एका वा बह्वो वा प्राक्षत्यो वा वैक्षत्यो वा तत्र
तावदेवतापदप्रयोगादेव सम्पूर्णः सूक्तवाकः । अनिष्टदेवतापद-
प्रयोगे तु प्रत्युत सूक्तवाकालं हिता दुरुक्तवाक एव स्थात् ।
तसादिष्टदेवतानुरोधेन^२” विभज्य प्रयोग इति सिद्धम् ।

आह च—

“विन्दौ च समुदाये च तोयशब्दो यथेष्ठते ।
संसर्गिद्व्यरूपत्वात्सूक्तवाकपदं तथारै” ॥

७ काम्ययाज्यानुवाक्यानां काम्यमाचाङ्गताधिकरणम् ।
लिङ्गंक्रमसमाख्यानात् काम्ययुक्तं समाख्यानम् ॥ १६ ॥

‘ऐन्द्राघ्नेकादशकपालं निर्वपेदित्यारभ्य इष्टयः समाख्याताः ।
तस्मिङ्ग्रन्तमेषैव च काम्ययाज्यानुवाक्याकाण्डमित्येवं समाख्यातम् ।
मन्त्रकाण्डं समाख्यातं ‘इन्द्राघ्नी रोचनादिव’ इत्यादि ।

तदिह मन्त्रकाण्डे संशयः—किमेते मन्त्रा यत्र यत्र समर्था-
स्तत्र तत्र विनियोक्तव्या उत क्रमसमाख्याभ्यां काम्येष्टिष्वेवेति ।

तत्र लिङ्गस्याविशेषात् क्रमसमाख्याभ्यां प्रावस्थाच्च सर्वार्थतेति
प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“अग्न्यादिखरूपमाच्चप्रतिपादनं यद्यपि सामर्थादिवगतं तथापि
न तन्माच्चप्रकाशने फलमस्ति । कर्मापूर्वसाधनरूपप्रकाशनार्थता तु
न कर्मसम्बन्धप्रमाणमन्यदन्तरेण सामर्थमाचात् सिद्धति । न

१ अत्र ‘मन्त्रवचनत्वादिर्ति शास्त्रदैपिकाकारसम्मतः पाठः ।

२ शास्त्रदैपिका, पृ० २१७ ।

३ तन्माच्चर्चिक, पृ० ७८५ ।

चाग्निसूर्यादीनां स्तुवादिवत् ऋत्वयभिचारः येन क्रतुरपश्यायेत् ।
तस्मात्क्रमसमाख्याभ्यां काम्येष्टिव्येव विनियोगः । कर्मान्तरेषु तु
उपायान्तरेणापि स्यतिसिद्धिर्बन्धनापेचानियमः । यत्र तु नियम-
स्त्र भवत्येव सामर्थ्यमाचादिनियोगः । यथार्थज्ञानस्यानुष्ठाना-
ङ्गालब्दम् । न हि तद्विनानुष्ठानं सिध्यति^१” ॥

८ आग्नीध्रोपस्थाने प्रकृतानां मन्त्राणां विनियोगाधिकरणम् ।

अधिकारे च मन्त्रविधिरतदाख्येषु शिष्टत्वात् ॥ २० ॥

ज्योतिष्ठोमे ‘आग्ने आयाहि वौतय’ इत्यादयो विशेषरूपेणा-
संयुक्ताः पठिताः । सोचादौ च वाक्यान्तरेणावियुक्ताः । प्रदेशान्तरे
च ‘आग्नेयाग्नीध्रसुपतिष्ठत’ इति विश्रुतम् ।

तत्र किं प्रकृता अप्रकृताश्चाग्नेयो याज्ञाः उत प्रकृता एवेति
संशयः ।

तचाविशेषात्मवाः । न च प्रकरणादिशेषः । प्रकरणस्याविशेष-
कलात् । यदि ह्याग्नेयौसंस्कारार्थमिदमुपस्थानं स्थान्ततोऽपूर्वा-
सम्बन्धिनः संस्कारायोगात् तस्माधनभूताः प्रकृता गृह्णेत्रन् । इह
तु तृतीयानिर्देशादुपादेयात्माः । अतो न प्रकृतनियमः । न च
सञ्चिधिनिर्यामकः । अन्यार्थस्य सञ्चिहितस्याप्यविशेषकलात् । यथा
अश्वेन गच्छति श्वेतेन पटेन प्रावृत इत्यत्र सञ्चिहितोऽपि श्वेतगुणे
नाशं विशिनष्टि तथेहापीति प्राप्ने ब्रूमः—

“प्रकृता एव गृह्णेत्रन् प्रसिद्धक्रतुसंगमाः ।

तासां कार्यविशेषो हि सुखमत्रोपदिश्यते ॥

आग्नीशोपस्थानस्य हि दे रूपे—आग्नीशोपस्थानता ज्योतिष्ठोमा-
पूर्वसाधनौपयिकव्यापारता च । इद्यमपि शास्त्रगम्यम् । अन्य-
तरेणान्यतरस्थानाचेपात् । तथा च यद्यप्रकृताभिरूपस्थानं विधीयेत
ततः तस्योपस्थानरूपमेव श्रुतेर्लभ्येत न तु ज्योतिष्ठोमव्यापारलम् ।
अशुतलात्” ।

नन्ववधातादिवदुपस्थानस्य प्रकरणात् क्रतुव्यापारलं लभ्यत इति
चेत् । सत्यम् । किन्तु श्रुतिं कल्पयित्वा । न चेहाकल्पनयोपपत्तौ
कल्पना युक्ता । आग्नेया क्रतुं प्रति आग्नीशोपस्थानरूपं व्यापारं
कुर्यादिति हि प्रकरणकल्पितं तु सम्बन्धं श्रुत्युक्तं चोपस्थानरूपमय-
मेव विधिर्विद्ध्यात् । तथा च गौरवम् । अवधातादिषु तु
गत्यभावात् अङ्गीकृतम् । इह तस्मि गतिः । तथा हि प्रकृतानां
प्रागेव क्रतुगतो व्यापारः कर्तव्यलेनावधारितः । तस्यावधारित-
व्यापारस्थाग्नीशोपस्थानात्मकं विशेषरूपमेवाच विधीयते । य
आग्नेया क्रतौ व्यापारः कर्तव्यः स आग्नीशोपस्थानरूप इति ।
तेन प्रागेव कल्पितं विहितं चाग्नेयाः क्रतुव्यापारमनूद्य विशेषमाचं
श्रुत्युपात्तमिह विधीयते । न लिह क्रतुव्यापारः कल्प्यते नापि
विधीयत इति लाघवात्मकतयहणम्^१ ॥

६ भक्षमन्त्राणां यथालिङ्गं ग्रहणादौ विनियोगाधि-
करणम् ।

लिङ्गसमाख्यानाभ्यां भक्षार्थतानुवाकस्य ॥ २४ ॥

भक्षमन्त्रः श्रूयते—‘भक्षे हि मा विश्व’ इत्यादिः । तथा कस्तिदंगो
भक्षणं प्रतिपादयति । ग्रहणवेचणसम्बन्धजरणप्रकाशकाश्चान्येऽशाः ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ष० ११० ।

२ अस्तित्वाधिकरणे शास्त्रदीपिकानुरूपाः पञ्चांशो इष्टव्याः, ष० ११०-१११ ।

तत्र किं सर्वः भक्षणे विनियोक्तव्य उत यथासामर्थं यहणादिव्यपि
विनियोक्तव्य इति मन्त्राश्रयः । तत्र—

“सर्वस्य भक्षणाङ्गलं यहणादेरचोदनात् ।

अक्रत्वर्थी न मन्त्रस्य द्वारौभवितुमर्हति ॥

भक्षानुवाकसंज्ञा च भक्षणाङ्गत्वबोधिनौ ।

सामर्थं चास्ति मन्त्रस्य भक्षणे तद्विशेषणात्” ॥

इत्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“यहणादौ विभागेन विनियोगोऽस्य लिङ्गातः ।

वाक्यसंज्ञे हि नेग्राते कर्तुं लिंगस्य बाधनम् ॥

यहणादि च शास्त्रेण साच्चाद्यद्यप्त्यचोदितम् ।

तथापि चोदितार्थेन कर्तव्यलाप्यकाश्यते ॥

समाख्या तु भक्षणसम्बन्धमात्रं प्रतिपादयन्ती^१” यहणादिद्वारक-
परं परासम्बन्धेऽप्यपव्यते । भक्षणं चेह सम्बन्धरणान्तं प्रतिपन्नितया
विधीयत इति तदप्यासनविशेषादिव्यापारेण कर्तव्यमिति तत्रापि
विभज्यमन्त्रविनियोगः ॥

१० मन्त्राभिभूतिरित्यादेरेकमन्त्रताधिकरणम् ।

गुणाभिधानान्मन्त्रादिरेकमन्त्रः स्यात्तथोरेकार्थ-
संयोगात् ॥ २६ ॥

भक्षमन्त्र एव मन्त्राभिभूतिरित्यादि व्यतिव्यत्यन्तं श्रुतम् ।

तत्र—

“यहणादिवदेकार्थाच्चिप्तवस्त्रप्रकाशनात् ।

त्वयिलन्तः पृथग्भूतव इति प्राप्तेभिधीयते ॥

^१ शास्त्रदैपिका, ष० २२२ ।

^२ शास्त्रदैपिका, ष० २२३ ।

येषां पृथग्नुष्टानमर्थाचिन्म् प्रतीयते ।

तेषां मन्त्रप्रकाशत्वं नानुनिष्पादिनां भवेत्^१” ॥

न हि घहणादाविव भच्छान्दन्यसृष्टौ व्यापारोऽस्ति । यत्स्य-
र्वयं मन्त्रोऽपेच्येत । तस्मान्तृप्तिविशिष्टमन्त्रप्रकाशनार्थः ॥

११ इन्द्रपौतस्येत्यादिमन्त्राणां विनियोगाधिकरणम् ।

लिङ्गविशेषनिर्देशात् समानविधानेनैन्द्राणा-
ममन्त्रत्वम् ॥ २७ ॥

भज्ञमन्त्रे श्रूयते ‘इन्द्रपौतस्येति ।

सन्ध्यैन्द्राणैन्द्राणि च ज्योतिष्ठोमे प्रदानानि ।

तत्र संशयः— किमैन्द्रेष्वेवायं मन्त्रः अनैन्द्राणाममन्त्रकं भच्छामुत
तेष्वयूहेन मन्त्रः । अथ वा सर्वत्र यथाक्षात्मेव मन्त्र इति ।
तदर्थं च किमैन्द्राणामनैन्द्राणां च प्रकृतिविक्षिभावोऽस्ति न वेति ।
तथा इन्द्रपौतस्येति तत्पुरुषः सोमविशेषणं किं वा बङ्गब्रौहिरिन्द्रेण
पौतो यस्मिन् सोमस्त्रये प्रातःसवनस्येति ।

“तत्र तत्पुरुषे स्वार्थलाभः स्वादुन्तरे पदे ।

बङ्गब्रौहौ इयोरन्यपदत्वाद्बुर्वलालधौः ॥

ऐन्द्रानैन्द्रप्रदानानि ह्यंशा एकस्य कर्मणः ।

प्रकृतिविक्षिभेष्टा न चात्मैवात्मनः क्वचित् ॥

तेन तत्पुरुषबलौयस्त्राद्यथाक्षात्मन्त्रस्यानैन्द्रेष्वसामर्थ्यात्माने च
कर्मणि प्रकृतिविक्षिभावासंभवेनोहायोगादनैन्द्राणाममन्त्रकं भच्छान-
मित्येकः पूर्वपदः । अपरस्तु सत्यपि कर्मकले प्रदानानां भिन्नत्वा-
दविरुद्धः प्रकृतिविक्षिभावः । मानयहणमन्त्राच्च ऐन्द्रप्रदानविषय

१ मन्त्रवाचिक, ष० ८०० ।

एव सोमः । ‘इन्द्राय वसुमते सोमं गृह्णामि’ इत्यादयो मन्त्रा हि अनैन्द्रेषु प्रदानेष्वसमर्थः । भवति चाङ्गवशेन प्रधानस्य विषय-व्यवस्था । यथा आहवनीयवशेनाग्निहोत्रादेराहिताग्निविषयलम् । अतो यत्र मन्त्रस्त्राव भानयहणे यत्र ते तत्र सोमः यत्र सोम-स्त्राभिष्वादयो भक्षणमन्त्रस्य । प्रदानान्तराणि लधर्मकाणि । चोदकेनैतान् धर्मान्गग्निन्ति । तत्र देवताविशिष्टभक्षप्रकाशकलेनोप-द्वत्वतो भक्षमन्त्रस्य कार्यवशेन विष्णुतिमागतस्य यथादेवतमूहः । एवमूहे ख्यतमधिकरणमपरिसमाप्तैव प्रसङ्गादूहविषयश्चिन्त्यते^१” ॥

१२ अभ्युन्नीतसोमभक्षणाधिकरणम् ।
पुनरभ्युन्नीतेषु सर्वेषामुपलक्षणं द्विशेषत्वात् ॥ २६ ॥

“सवनसुखीयेषु चमसेष्वैन्द्रेषु सर्वेषु ऊतेषु ये होत्रकाणां मैत्रावरुणादीनां चमसालेष्वभचितेषु सर्पेषेवे पुनः सोमोऽभ्युन्नीय देवतान्तरेभ्यो मित्रावरुणादिभ्यो ऊत्वा भक्ष्यते ।

तत्र संशयः । किं पूर्वप्रकृतप्रदाने देवताभूत इन्द्रोऽप्युपलक्षणैय इन्द्रमित्रावरुणपौतस्येति किं वा नेति ।

ततोन्नयनोन्नरता^२ विप्रदानकाले पूर्वशेषस्याभ्युन्नीतस्योभयस्य चमसस्यालेन तत्कालनिर्दिश्यमानदेवतान्तरसम्बन्धादपेतसम्बन्धापूर्व-देवता नोपलक्षणैयेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

यद्युन्नयनकाले न देवतासंकल्पस्थाप्युन्नयनं तावत्करिष्यमाण-यागार्थमित्यसन्दिग्धम् । अतश्चाभ्युन्नीतस्य करिष्यमाणयागार्थतथा

^१ शास्त्रदैपिका, पृ० २२४-२२५ ।

^२ अत्र “ततोन्नयनकाले देवतान्तरसंकल्पो न क्रियते । यदि क्रियेत तत ज्ञीयमानस्यैव देवतान्तरसम्बन्धो न पूर्वस्थितस्य शेषस्येति तस्य पूर्वदेवतासम्बन्धो नापेत्यात् । उपर्युक्तमात्रं तु तदा क्रियते । देवतानिर्देशस्तु प्रदानकाले तदा च पूर्वे”त्यादि शास्त्रदैपिका पाठः ।

तदौदेवतासम्बन्धो नान्यस्य । तस्मात्पूर्वेष्य ज्ञान॑सम्बन्धान-
पादात् साधुपलचणौया॒” ॥

१३ पात्रौवतभक्षण इन्द्रादैनामनुपलक्षणाधि- करणम् ।

पात्रौवते तु पूर्ववत् ॥ ३२ ॥

“द्विदेवत्यानाभैन्द्रवायवादौनां शेषा आदित्यस्थालीमागत्य
ततोऽप्याग्रयणस्थालीमागच्छन्ति पात्रौवतस्थाग्रयणपात्राङ्गृह्णते ।

तस्मिन्भक्षणमाणे किभिन्द्रवायवादयोऽप्युपलक्षणौया उत पात्रौ-
वानेवेति संशयः२” ।

पूर्ववत्पूर्वेषामुपलक्षणमिति प्राप्तं नैतदेवम् । न ह्यत्राग्रयणं
पात्रौवतं कुर्यादिति अतं किं तु “पात्रौवतमाग्रयणादग्न्त्वातौत्य-
पादानमाचमाग्रयणम् । अतो अत्तोपेतं तत्पात्रौवतं आग्रय-
णांशवच्चानाययणमपि तस्मैष्टुं द्विदेवत्यं ततोपेतमिति पात्रौवत-
मेव३” । अतः पूर्वदेवतासम्बन्धावगमात् इन्द्रवायवादयो नोप-
लक्षण्यितव्याः ॥

१४ पात्रौवतशेषभक्षे त्वष्टुरनुपलक्षणौयताधि- करणम् ।

त्वष्टारं तूपलक्षयेत् पानात् ॥ ३४ ॥

“तस्मिन्नेव पात्रौवते आध्वर्यवो होममन्तः । ‘अग्नादृ-
पत्रौवान् सजूर्देवेन लक्षा सोमं पिव खाहेति ।

१ ‘ज्ञान’ इत्यस्य स्थाने ‘देवता’ इति शास्त्रदैपिकासम्मतः पाठः ।

२ शास्त्रदैपिका, ष० २२५-२२६ ।

३-४ शास्त्रदैपिका, ष० २२६ ।

तत्र मन्त्रवर्णनाग्नेः पद्मौवतस्त्रं इति सह पानं गम्यते । तदन्यथा-
नुपपत्त्या लष्टुरपि देवतालम् । अतः सोऽप्युपलक्षयितव्य इति प्राप्ते
ब्रह्मः—

अग्नेरेव पानं गम्यते । लष्टुसु सहभावमात्रम् । न च सह-
भावस्त्रियासम्बन्धाव्यभिचारौ । ‘सचैव दशभिः पुच्छैर्भारं वहति
गर्दभौ’त्यादौ तदभावात् । असु वा पानं तथापि न देवतालम् ।
उद्देश्यमात्रालक्षणात्तथ्याः । न हि देवता पिवतीति वक्ष्यते ।

किञ्च चोदनायां तद्वितेन निरपेक्ष्य पद्मौवतो देवतावं
गम्यमानं न मान्त्रवर्णिक्या देवताया बाधविकल्पसमुच्चयान् सहते ।
अतो नोपलक्षणीयस्त्रष्टा^१” ॥

१५ पद्मौवतशेषभक्षे चिंशतामनुपलक्षणाधिकरणम् ।

चिंशत्त्र परार्थत्वात् ॥ ३६ ॥

तस्मिन्नेव पद्मौवते याज्यामन्त्रः ‘एभिरग्ने सरथं चा ह्यर्वाङ्ग-
नानारथं वा विभवो ह्यश्वाः । पद्मौवतस्त्रिंशतं चौञ्च देवाननु-
वधमावहमाद्यस्त्रे’ति ।

तत्र किं चयस्त्रिंशदुपलक्षयितव्या उत नेति संशयः ।

“पूर्वचाग्नेरेव पानम् । लष्टुसु सहभावमात्रमित्यदेवताल-
मुक्तम् । इदं तु विपरीतम् । अग्नेभा दधिट्टलोक्त्या इतरे
माद्यन्तौत्यवगमात् । अतस्तेषां देवतालम् । न च चोदनया
विरोधः । तथा हि पद्मौवत्त्राचक्ष देवतालमुक्तं न तु तद्विशेषस्त्रे ।
तत्र यथा अग्ने पद्मौवत्त्रिति मन्त्रगतसामानाधिकरणादग्नेः पद्मौ-
वत्त्रेन देवतालमेवं चयस्त्रिंशतोऽपि देवतानां पद्मौवतस्त्रिंशतं चौञ्च

देवानिति सामानाधिकरणात् तस्माच्चयस्त्रिंश्चुपलक्षणीया इति
प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

यतोऽग्नेर्मादघिदत्तमत एव तस्यैव देवतालं न ह्यसौ यजमान-
द्रव्येण चयस्त्रिंश्चतं मादघितुं शकुयात् । न यदि यजमानोऽग्नेरे
द्यादतोऽग्नेरेव यजमानसंकल्पविषयलादेवतालं इतरे लग्निदत्तेन
कामं माद्यन्तु । न तु यजमानस्तेभ्यो ददातीति^१” अदेवतालाच्च
तेषामुपलक्षणं किञ्चग्नेरेव ॥

१६ भक्षणोऽनुवषट्कारदेवताया अनुपलक्षणाधि-
करणम् ।

वषट्कारश्च कर्त्तवत् ॥ ३७ ॥

“अनुवषट्कारदेवताया अग्नेरसन्दिग्धं देवतालमिति उप-
लक्षणं प्राप्तम् ।

प्रकृतौ तु विद्यमानायसौ नोपलक्षिता । किं तु प्रधानदेवता-
भूत इच्छ एवोपलक्षितः । अतो विकृतावपि तत्कार्यापन्नप्रधानदेवता
एवोपलक्षणीया नानुवषट्कारदेवतेति सिद्धान्तः^२” ॥

१७ आत्माचिन्तारूपे अनैन्द्रिणाममन्त्रकभक्षणाधि-
करणम् ।

छन्दः प्रतिषेधस्तु सर्वगामित्वात् ॥ ३८ ॥

“स्थितादुत्तरमिदम् । नाख्यूहः समानविधानलाक्षदानानाम् ।

यन्तु ऐन्द्रप्रधानविषयः सोम इत्युक्तं तत्र । स हि सोमेन
यजेतेति कर्मात्पत्तौ श्रुतः कर्मणोऽङ्गं न तु प्रदानविशेषस्य । तदेव

^१ शास्त्रदौषिका, पृ० २१७-२२८ ।

^२ शास्त्रदौषिका, पृ० २१८ ।

च कर्म सर्वप्रदानेष्वभ्यस्यत इति सर्वाणि समानविधानानि । मान-
यहणमन्त्वौ तु लिङ्गादैन्द्रप्रदानविषयौ कामं भवेतां न तु सोमोऽपि ।
अतः समानविधानलादनूहः । भचमन्त्वस्तु लिंगादैन्द्रेष्ववेत्यनैन्द्राणा-
ममन्त्रकमेव भक्षणमिति । एवं प्रथमपक्ष एव स्थितमधिकरणम् ।
एवं स्थिते पुनः क्लाचिन्तार्ह” ॥

१८ ऐन्द्राग्रभक्षस्यामन्त्रकात्पादिकरणम् ।

ऐन्द्राग्रे तु लिंगभावात्यात् ॥ ३६ ॥

यत्रान्यसहित इन्द्रो देवता यथैन्द्रादिषु तत्र मन्त्रो भवति नेति
संशयः ।

“तत्र मिश्रोदैश्चेनापि दत्तः सोमोऽश्चतः प्रत्येकसुभाभ्यां पौयते ।
तेन पानेऽन्योन्यनिरपेक्षलात् द्वाभ्यामपि पौत इन्द्रपौतो भवत्येव
यथा डित्यमातेति^१ ” । तस्मादैन्द्राग्रादिषु समन्त्रकं भक्षणमिति
प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“देवताधिकरणन्यायेन पानाभावात् पिवतिरच दानसुप-
लक्षणार्थः । दानं च मिश्रविषयकं नान्यतरेण व्यपदेष्टु शक्यत इति
चतुर्धाकरणवदैन्द्राग्रादिषु मन्त्राभावः^२ ” ॥ १६ ॥

१९ मन्त्रविशेषाणामनेकच्छन्दस्त्रे विनियोगाधि- करणम् ।

छन्दश्च देवतावत् ॥ ४१ ॥

तत्रैव मन्त्रे गायत्रच्छन्दस इति श्रुतम् ।

तत्र किं यस्मिन्प्रदाने गायत्रमेव छन्दस्त्रं मन्त्रः उत नाना-
छन्दस्त्रेऽपौति संशयः ।

^१ शास्त्रदौषिका, पृ० ११६ ।

^{२-३} शास्त्रदौषिका, पृ० २३० ।

पूर्ववत्केवलक्ष्मदोविषयले प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

सर्वेषु प्रधानेषु बड्डमन्त्रसमवायेन क्षम्भोलराणामवशभावात्
नियसापेच्चादत्र समासः । वस्तुतस्तु नेह सापेच्चलं सर्वमन्त्राणा-
मन्योन्यनिरपेच्चाणामेव कर्मसम्भव्यात् । अतः सत्यपि क्षम्भोऽन्तरे
गायत्रच्छन्दसत्तदनपेच्चतथा पूर्वाधिकरणपूर्वपञ्चवत् समासाविधाना-
भावान्नानाच्छन्दस्कोऽपि भवति मन्त्रः ॥

२० एकादशाधिकरणोक्तस्योपसंहाराधिकरणम् ।

सर्वेषां त्वेकमन्त्रमैतिशायनस्य भक्तपानत्वात्सव-
नाधिकारो हि ॥ ४३ ॥

“ स्थितादुत्तरं

यदि तत्पुरुषोऽयं स्थात्यादनैच्चेष्वमन्त्रकम् ।

भच्छणं लक्षणादोषान्नायं तप्युरुषो मतःऽ ” ॥

तप्युरुषले हि सोमस्य विशेषणमिन्द्रपौत्रशब्दः स्थात् । न च
ज्ञतश्चिष्टस्य भच्छणार्थं ज्ञतस्येन्द्रपौत्रमत्तिं किन्तु तदवधवलम् । तथा
चोपचारापन्त्तिः । किं च इन्द्रपौत्रस्येत्यत्र बड्डत्रौहिलिङ्गं पूर्वपद-
प्रक्षातित्वर उपलभ्यते । तस्माद्ज्ञत्रौहिरेवायम् । इन्द्रेण यस्मिन्स्वने
पौतः सोमस्तस्य सवनस्य यः सम्बन्धीयः सोमस्तस्य भच्छयामौति ।
सर्वे च सोमा एवंविधसवनसम्बन्धिन इति सर्वेषां यथान्वातमन्त्रकं
भच्छणम् ।

इति मौमांसाशास्त्रसर्वत्ते हतौयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

—००—

१ उच्चैस्त्वादीनां वेदधर्मताधिकरणम् ।

श्रुतेर्जाताधिकारः स्यात् ॥ १ ॥

पूर्वयोः पादयोः श्रुतिलिङ्गविनियोगौ चिन्तितौ । इदानौ वाक्य-
विनियोगश्चिन्त्यते । ‘प्रजापतिरकामयत प्रजाः स्फुजेयेति । स तपो-
इत्यथ । तस्मान्ते पानात् चयो देवाः अस्त्वज्यन्नाग्निर्वायुरादित्यस्ते
तपोइत्यन्त ततस्ते पानेभ्यस्तयो वेदा अस्त्वज्यन्नाग्नेर्वेदो वायो-
र्यजुर्वेद आदित्यात्सामवेद’ इत्युपक्रम्य श्रूयते ज्योतिषोमे—‘तस्मा-
दुच्चैर्वचा क्रियते उपांशु यजुषा उच्चैः साम्बैति ।

तत्र संशयः—किमुच्चैद्वादयो मन्त्रधर्माः च्छचा मन्त्रेणोच्चैरिति
किं वा वेदधर्माः च्छवेदेनोच्चैरिति । उपक्रमे वेदश्रवणात् उपसंहारे
चर्चादिश्रवणात् ।

वेदशब्दो हि मन्त्रो ब्राह्मणसमुदायस्य वक्ता न लेकैकस्य वाक्यस्य ।
न ह्येकं द्वे चौणि वाक्यानि अधीत्य “वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं
वापि यथाक्रम”मित्येतत् शास्त्रार्थमनुष्ठितं मन्यन्ते । च्छगादि-
शब्दास्तु मन्त्रवचनाः स्थापिताः । तत्र—

“गुणतादर्थवादत्वादनुवादस्य लक्षणा ।

मुख्यस्यापि प्रधानत्वादप्राप्तविषयतः ॥

विष्णुद्देशो जघन्योऽपि स्वार्थहानिं न गच्छति ।

मुख्यापि दीक्षणीया हि लभते न स्वधर्मताम् ॥

जघन्यस्यापि सोमस्य प्रधानत्वात्स्वधर्मता ।

वक्ष्यते तद्वचापि विष्णुद्देशस्य सा भवेत् ॥

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

‘य इच्छा पशुना सोमेन वा यजेते’ति वचनालभ्यात्मा सोमस्य कालो दीक्षणौयाकालं बाधत इति युक्तम् । इह तु इच्छविषय-लेनालभ्यात्मविधुद्वेशः कथमर्थवादं बाधेत । तस्मादृगादिपदं जात-प्रतिपचविज्ञानवाच्यथाश्रुतं सन्तदेकवाक्यतामप्रतिपदमानं तदनुग्रुणं वेदं लक्ष्यदेवात्मानं लभते । उपक्रम एव हि वेदानां किञ्चिद्विधास्यत इति अवगतम् । किं तदित्यपेक्षायां विशुद्धेशगतोऽपि ऋगादिशब्दोऽवगतविषयलादनुवाद इति लक्षणं सहते । चक्रवेदेन यक्षियते विधीयते तदुच्चेरिति । आह च—

“ असंजातविरोधित्वादर्थवादो यथा श्रुतः ।

आस्थेयन्तद्विद्वस्य विशुद्धेशस्य लक्षणः ॥

पौर्वापर्यबल्यायस्तं तत्र नाम प्रतीयते ।

अन्योन्यनिरपेक्षाणां यत्र जन्म धियां भवेत् ॥” ॥

इति च । इह तु विधिस्तुत्योः सापेक्षतैव । तदिहोपक्रमोप-संहारैकवाक्यतया वेदधर्मलभवधारितमिति वाक्यविनियोगः ।

२ आधाने गानस्योपांशुताधिकरणम् ।

गुणमुखव्यतिक्रमे तदर्थत्वान्मुख्येन वेदसंयोगः ॥ ६ ॥

“ यस्य मन्त्रस्य वेदान्तरे उत्पत्तिर्वदान्तरे च विनियोगविधिः तस्य किंनिबन्धनः खर इति संशयः । तत्र—

उत्पत्तेः पूर्वभाविलात् तन्त्रिबन्धन एव हि ।

खरः प्रथमभाविलाद्युक्तो नान्यो विलम्बितः ३ ” ॥

१ शास्त्रदौषिका, ष० २७५ ।

२ तत्त्ववाचिक, ष० ८१९ ।

३ शास्त्रदौषिका, ष० २१४ ।

इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“ न खल्वाभ्यानमाचेण मन्त्रस्य स्यात्प्रयोज्यता ।

तेन क्रियत इत्येवमतो वकुं न शक्यते ॥

तेन तु क्रियते मन्त्रो यत्र वेदे विधीयते ।

विधायत्तं ह्यनुष्ठानं तत्र चापेचितः स्वरः^१ ” ॥

“ प्रयोज्यतयाऽवधारितस्य हि मन्त्रस्य स्वरापेचा भवति न तु
खल्पावगतिमाचेण । तस्माद्वारवल्लीयादेः सामवेदेनाक्रियमाण-
लादुपांशुलमेव^२ ” ।

३ ज्योतिष्टोमस्य याजुर्वैदिकाधिकरणम् ।

भूयस्त्वेनोभयश्रुतिः ॥ १० ॥

“ यजुर्वेदे सामवेदे च ज्योतिष्टोमः समाच्वातः ।

तस्य कतरवेदस्वरः स्यादिति विचारः । यत्र विधीयते तदौय
एव स्वरो युक्तो न तु यत्र गुणार्थं अवणं तदौयः । अतः क्वाञ्च
विधिरिति अनियमे प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

यजुर्वेदे इत्यदेवतश्चवणात्तदवच्छिन्नं कर्म विधीयते । साक्षि
तु नामयुक्तं क्रियामाचं श्रूयते इति न विष्ववगतिः समाप्तये ।
अतो यजुर्वेदेनासौ क्रियत इति उपांशुधर्मताः^३ ” ॥

४ प्रकरणस्य विनियोजकताधिकरणम् ।

असंयुक्तं प्रकरणादितिकर्तव्यतार्थित्वात् ॥ ११ ॥

श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यैर्विनियोग उक्तः । इदानीमधिकरणत्रयेण
प्रकरणस्थानसमाख्याभिर्विनियोगोऽभिधीयते ।

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते 'समिधो यजतौ' व्यादि । तदर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गं
न वेति संशयः ।

श्रुत्यादित्रिकस्थाभावात् विनियोजकान्तरस्य चायुत्पादना-
काङ्गम् । न च फलाभावात्साकांचता । विश्वजिज्ञायेन रात्रि-
सत्रव्यायेन वा तत्परिपूर्णादिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“ अविच्छिन्ने कथंभावे यत्प्रधानस्य पद्यते ।

अनिज्ञातफलं कर्म तस्य प्रकरणाङ्गता॑ ” ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां खर्गं साधयेत् कथमित्येतस्थाभाकांचायां
अविच्छिन्नायां अश्रुतप्रयोजनानि समिद्यागादीनि पद्यन्ते । ततो-
भयोः साकांचयोः सन्निहितयोऽस्त्रैकवाक्यत्वकल्पनं फलान्तरकल्पना-
सघीयः । तथा चोभयोर्निराकांचलम् ।

नन्वेवं समिदादिष्वपि इतिकर्तव्यताकांचा स्थादिति चेत् ।
इष्टापन्तेः । न चैव तत्रातिदेशापत्तिः छत्रविधानेषु अतिदेशा-
योगात् । सन्निपत्त्योपकारकसाकल्यं छत्रविधानतेत्यष्टमे वक्ष्यते ॥

पूर्वमस्य विनियोजकत्वाधिकरणम् ।

क्रमश्च देशसामान्यात् ॥ १२ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोरुपांशुद्याजक्रमे दव्यिर्नामासौति मन्त्रः पद्यते ।

स किमुपांशुद्याजाङ्गं न वेति संशयः ।

श्रुतिवाक्ययोरसत्रात् लिङ्गप्रकरणयोश्चाद्येयादिष्वविशेषादुपांशु-
याजस्य विशेषाभावात्क्रमस्य चाप्रमाणवादनङ्गमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—
उपांशुद्याजस्याङ्गमिति । कर्मणां मन्त्राणां च क्रमेणान्वातानां यस्य

कर्मणः क्रमे यो मन्त्रः समान्नातः स तस्मिन्ब्रवगते उपतिष्ठते ।
 तयोः समानस्थानान्नानं सम्बन्धार्थमित्येवमाकांचां परिकल्प्य एक-
 वाक्यता कल्पयते । क्रमश्च हेशसामान्यं तद्विविधं—पाठसादेश्य-
 मनुष्ठानसादेश्यं चेति । आद्यमपि द्विधा—यथासंख्यान्नानं सन्नि-
 धान्नानं च । तत्राद्यस्तोदाहरणमुक्तम् । सन्निधिसमान्नानोदाहरणं
 तु सान्नायपात्रशुभ्रमितिमन्वस्य तदङ्गलम् । अनु-
 ष्ठानसादेश्यान्तु पशुधर्माणामग्नीषोमीयाङ्गलं वक्ष्यते ॥

६ समाख्याया विनियोजकताधिकरणम् ।

आख्या चैवं तदर्थत्वात् ॥ १३ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासादिष्टु आधर्यवहौचौद्वाचादिसमाख्याताः पदार्थाः
 किमधर्यादिभिरेव कर्त्तव्या उतानियमेनेति संशयः ।

श्रुत्याद्यभावादनियमेनेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः— अनादिस्तावद्पौरुषेयौ
 समाख्या । तेनाधर्यवादिशब्दाः पदार्थानां वाचकाः । नूनं
 कर्त्तव्यां पदार्थानां च सम्बन्धं विना तन्निर्वाह इति अर्थापत्त्या
 सम्बन्धसामान्ये निश्चिते कर्त्तव्यां कार्यपिक्षत्वात् पदार्थानां च कर्त्त-
 वेक्षत्वात् समाख्याया च मिथःपर्युपस्थापितानां योग्यतया क्रिया-
 कर्त्तव्यसम्बन्धमेव प्रयोगविधिर्विधत्त इति सिद्धः समाख्याया नियमः ॥

७ श्रुत्यादीनां पूर्वपूर्वबलीयस्त्वाधिकरणम् ।

श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानां समवाये
 पारदौर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षत् ॥ १४ ॥

इदानौ श्रुत्यादीनामेकविषयसमवायेन विरोधे सति बलाबलं
 चिन्त्यते ।

तत्र श्रुत्यादौनां परस्परं दुर्बललम् । अत्र हेतुरर्थविप्रकर्षा-
दिति । अर्थः शेषलाख्यः तस्मिन्चिप्रकर्षः विलम्बितप्रवृत्तिकलम् ।
तत्र लिङ्गस्य श्रुत्यपेचया दुर्बलतं यावद्द्वि लिंगेन श्रुतिः कल्प्या
तावत्प्रत्यच्छैव श्रुत्या विनियोगे निराकाङ्क्षणेन लिङ्गेन श्रुत्यनु-
मानस्यैवासम्भवः । न च श्रुतिनिरपेचस्यैव लिङ्गस्य अङ्गले
बोधकलमस्त्विति वाच्यम् । सामान्यतः शब्देन पुरुषार्थसाधनलाव-
गमे तद्विशेषाकाङ्क्षायां लिङ्गकल्प्यश्रुतिं विना तद्विशेषासमर्पणेन
तन्निष्टत्ययोगात् । एवं वाक्यादिष्पि श्रुतिकल्प्यन बोधम् ।

उक्तं च—

“विनियोक्त्री श्रुतिस्तावत्सर्वव्येतेषु सम्भाता ।

धीखस्याः सञ्चिकर्षणं विप्रकर्षणं च स्थिता^१” ॥

वाक्यमपि लिङ्गादुर्बलं, असमर्थस्य विनियोगायोगेन लिङ्ग-
कल्पनात् ।

उक्तं च—

“वाचकेनैकवाक्यलादिहातदाच्चिनां सताम् ।

कल्पयिलाभिधाशक्तिश्रुतिः पश्चात्प्रकल्प्यते^२” ॥

प्रकरणमपि वाक्यादुर्बलम् । प्रकरणस्योभयाकाङ्क्षाख्यात्-
स्यैकवाक्यताकल्पकलात् ।

उक्तं च—

“प्रत्यक्षा सङ्गतिर्वाक्ये न तु प्रकरणेऽस्यसौ ।

आकाङ्क्षातोऽनुमातव्या तावता विप्रकृष्टता^३” ॥

^१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, ष० ८४५ ।

^२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, ष० ८४८ ।

^३ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, ष० ८५० ।

क्रमोऽपि प्रकरणाद्वर्बलः । क्रमो नाम निराकाङ्क्षाणां सतां पाठानुष्ठानदेशसाम्यमात्रम् । साकाङ्क्षाले हि प्रकरणमेव स्थात् । तथा चैकाकाङ्क्षाया अपराकाङ्क्षाकल्पनात्ममस्य दुर्बलत्वम् ।

समाख्यापि क्रमाद्वर्बला । क्रमे हि वेदकल्पितमेवाङ्गाङ्गिनो-देशसामान्यं सञ्चिधनिमित्तम् । समाख्यायां तु न सञ्चिधिबौज-मस्ति । तस्मात्समाख्या दुर्बला ।

उक्तं च—

“एकदिव्यचितुःपञ्चवस्त्रन्तरणकारितम् ।

श्रुत्यर्थं प्रति वैषम्यं लिङ्गादौनामपौष्टीते^१” ॥

तस्मात्—

“बाधिकैव श्रुतिर्नित्यं समाख्या बाध्यते सदा ।

मध्यमानां तु बाध्यत्वं बाधकलमपेक्ष्यार्थं” ॥

तचैकैकस्य पञ्चभिः सह विचारो यद्यपि कर्तुमुचितः तथापि बाधितवाध्यस्य खबाधकबाधेन बाधः सुबोध इति तमुपेक्ष्यैकेनैव सह विचार्यते ।

अत्रोदाहरणानि—

श्रुतिलिङ्गयोर्विरोधे—‘ऐन्द्र्या गार्हपत्यसुपतिष्ठत’ इत्यत्र गार्हपत्यमिति द्वितीयाश्रुत्या गार्हपत्यं प्रत्यैन्द्र्याः शेषत्वमभिहिते दक्षाभिधानसामर्थ्यरूपलिङ्गस्य श्रुत्यननुमापकत्वात् बाधः ।

लिङ्गवाक्यविरोधे—‘स्योनन्ते सदनं छणोमि घृतस्य धारया सुशेवं कल्पयामि’, ‘तस्मिन् सौदामृते प्रतितिष्ठ’, ‘ब्रौहीणां मेध सुमनस्यमान’ इत्यत्र हि कल्पयाम्यतो मन्त्रो लिङ्गेनोपस्तरणे

^१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ८४८ ।

^२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ८७७ ।

उत्तरसु सादने विनियुक्तः । तस्मिन्नित्यस्य पूर्वसापेचलवादेकवाक्यता
प्रतीत्या समस्तस्यैवोभयत्र विनियोगः प्रतिभासमानोऽपि बाधते ।

वाक्यप्रकरणविरोधस्तु— दर्शपूर्णमासप्रकरणपठिते इदं
चावाप्तिवौ भद्रमभूदित्यादौ सूक्तवाकनिगदे तत्र हि ‘अग्नीषोमा-
विदं हविरजुषेतामवौद्धेतां महोज्यायोक्राताम्’ । ‘इन्द्राग्नौ इदं
हविरजुषेतामवौद्धेतामि’ति पद्यते । तत्राग्नीषोमपदस्य च पौर्ण-
मास्यामावास्यायां च प्रयोगः सिद्धः । अवौद्धेतामित्यादिस्तु
यावत्क्षत्वः समान्नातस्यावत्क्षत्वः पौर्णमास्यामावास्यायां च प्र-
करणेन प्रयोक्तव्यः प्रतिभाति । अग्नीषोमादिपदैकवाक्यतावशेन तु
व्यवस्थितैकक्षे शेषस्य पौर्णमास्याद्वाङ्गत्वम् ।

क्रमप्रकरणविरोधस्तु— शौनःशेषाख्यानादिष्ठु क्रमादभि-
षेचनौद्याङ्गत्वेन भासमानेषु प्रकरणाद्राजसूयाङ्गत्वेन सिद्धेषु इष्टव्यः ।

क्रमसमाख्याविरोधोऽपि— पौरोडाशिकसमाख्यायाः पुरो-
डाशिपात्रशुभ्नार्थत्वेन भासमाने क्रमात् साक्रियाङ्गता ।

“तथा धात्वर्थकर्मत्वे पदशुद्योपदर्शिते॑ ।

भावनाया विधिश्रुत्या पुरुषार्थांशसाध्यतार॑” ॥ इति
तत्राकाङ्गादिनिरपेचबोधकः शब्दः अतिः । सा च क्रिया
विधाच्चौ विनियोक्त्रौ अभिधाच्चौ च । आद्या लिङ्गोट्तत्यादिः ।
द्वितीया तु पदश्रुतिः कारकविभक्तिः षष्ठी च । तृतीया लितरा ।
लिङ्गं सामर्थम् । वाक्यं तु लक्षितम् । प्रकरणमुभयाकाङ्गा ।
स्थानं सादेशम् । समाख्या यौगिकः शब्दः ॥

१ ‘उपदर्शिते’ इत्यत्र ‘उपपादिते’ इति तत्त्ववाच्चिकपाठः ।

२ तत्त्ववाच्चिक, पृ० ८६१ । चतुर्थचरणे ‘पुरुषार्थस्य साध्यता’ इति तत्त्व-
वाच्चिकपाठः ।

द द्वादशोपसत्ताया अहीनाङ्गताधिकरणम् ।

अहीनो वा प्रकरणान्नौणः ॥ १५ ॥

“एवं विरोधे श्रुत्यादेवलाबलमुदौरितम् ।

अतः परं विरोधः क्व क्व नास्तीति विचार्यते^१” ॥

तत्र प्रथमं प्रकरणस्य श्रुत्यादिभिः सह चिन्ता । ज्योतिष्ठोम-
प्रकरणे ‘तिस्त्र एव साक्षस्थोपसदो द्वादशाहीनस्ये’ति श्रुतम् ।

तत्र साक्षशब्देन सहाक्षा समायमानलाज्योतिष्ठोमोऽभिधीयत
इति श्रुपस्त्वं च तदङ्गभिति स्थितम् । द्वादशोपसत्त्वं तु किं
तस्यैवाङ्गसुत द्वादशाहादेरहर्गणस्येति संशयः ।

तत्र प्रकरणात्तस्यैवेति प्राप्तम् । स एव चाहीनः न हैयत
इति व्युत्पत्त्या । सर्वैषिपि हि क्रतवस्त्वं प्रकृतिलेनापेक्षमाणा न
जहति । एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“साक्षादर्थान्तरं तावदहीन इति गम्यते ।

रुद्धिश्चेयं द्विराचादौ सा च योगाद्वलीयसी ॥

तत्रापि यौगिकत्वं चेन्न सत्रेष्वप्रयोगतः ।

मथोदान्तं पदं चेदमतः खप्रत्ययान्तरारे” ॥

“किञ्च नञ्चसमाप्ते हि सत्यव्यपूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्त्ररत्वेन आद्य-
दान्तत्वं स्थात् । तस्मादहीनश्रुतेरहर्गणवचनलवात् तदिष्यमेव द्वादशो-
पसत्त्वं षष्ठौश्रुत्या गम्यते । तत्तु पृथग्विधीयते वाक्यान्तरप्राप्तं सत्
श्रुपसत्त्वस्तुव्यर्थमनूद्यते वेत्यन्यदेतत् । सर्वथा तावत् द्वादशाहीनस्ये-
त्येतदहर्गणविषयमिति सिद्धम्^२” ।

^१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ष० २४६ ।

^२ शास्त्रदीपिका, ष० २५० ।

^३ शास्त्रदीपिका, ष० २५० ।

आह च—

“द्वादशत्वमहौनेन षष्ठीश्रुत्यैव सङ्गतम् ।

अहीनोऽहःसमूहश्च ज्योतिष्ठोमे हि साङ्कता॑” ॥

६ कुलायादौ प्रतिपदोरुत्कर्षाधिकरणम् ।

द्वित्वबहुत्वयुक्तं वा चोदनात्तस्य ॥ १७ ॥

ज्योतिष्ठोमे श्रूयते—‘युवं हि स्थः स्वर्पतौ’ इति द्वयोर्यजमानयोः प्रतिपदं कुर्यात् । ‘एते अस्त्यग्मिंद्व’ इति बज्जभ्यो यजमानेभ्य इति ।

तत्र किमेते प्रतिपदौ ज्योतिष्ठोमस्य उत द्विबज्जयजमानकेषु कुलायाहौनादिष्टूत्कर्षये इति संशयः ।

तत्र यद्यपि ‘वसन्ते वसन्ते ज्योतिषा यजेते’त्याख्यातोपात्तं गुणभूतोपादेयकर्त्तव्यं एकलं विवक्षितं तथापि नित्येऽशक्तिक्षताङ्गं—त्यागाभ्युपगमात् यदा एको न शक्त्यात्तदा अङ्गान्तरवदेकलं—स्थापि हेयतया द्वौ वहवो वा यजेरन् तदा अपेण प्रकृतावेव प्रतिपदिधानमुपपन्नमिति नोत्कर्ष इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

उपादेयाङ्गविषयो हि यथाशक्तिन्यायः । एकलं लक्ष्यादेयम् । अत एको यथा शक्त्यादित्युपवन्भात् अङ्गान्तरं दक्षिणापरिमाणादिकं परित्यज्यार्थिक एव प्रवर्त्तत इति प्रकृतौ द्विलबज्जत्वयोरभावात् षष्ठीश्रुत्या तत् संयुक्तयोः प्रतिपदोस्तद्वत्सु कुलायादिष्टूत्कर्षः । न च पत्व्यभिग्राय द्विलबज्जत्वं युक्तं, यजमानशब्देन पुंस एवाभिधानात् । बज्जभ्य इति विरूपैकशेषस्य जघन्यत्वात् । ‘उपास्तैगायता नर’ इति प्रतिपदोः निरवकाश्वलप्रसङ्गात् ।

१० जाधन्या अनुत्कर्षाधिकरणम् ।

जाधनी चैकदेशत्वात् ॥ २० ॥

“ दर्शपूर्णमासयोः पत्रौसंयाजान् प्रकृत्य श्रूयते ‘जाधन्या: पत्रौः संयाजयन्तौ’ ति ।

तत्किं पशावुत्कृत्यते न वेति सन्देहः ।

तत्रारादुपकारकात् सामवायिकस्य गरीयस्त्वात् जाधनीशब्दस्य चोत्तरार्धादिशब्दवदेकदेशवचनलादेकदेशद्रव्याणां विद्यमानैक-देशिसंयोगात् यत्र परप्रयुक्तपश्चनुनिष्पन्ना जाधनी विद्यते तत्र तत्संखारवेन पत्रौसंयाजविधानमिति प्राप्ते^१ ” ब्रूमः—

“ जाधनी हि गुणलेन दृतीयोऽप्याऽवगम्यते ।

पत्रौसंयाजयागांश्च द्रव्यापेचाव्यवस्थितः ॥

तेन तेषां गुणलेन जाधन्यत्र विधीयते ।

न च सापेच्चवृत्तिलभुत्तरार्धादिशब्दवत्^२ ” ॥

“ जाधनीशब्दो हि छद्यादिशब्दवत् अवयवनिष्ठजातिवचनः । सा चान्तरेणापि पश्चूपादानं परप्रयुक्तपश्चूपजीवनं वा शक्योपादातुम् । न चेयमवश्यं क्वागादेव ग्रहीतव्या । तस्माद्दर्शपौर्णमासिक-पत्रौसंयाजाङ्गभूतेनैवाच्येन सह विकल्पते जाधनी॒ ” ॥

११ संतर्दनस्य संस्थानिवेशाधिकरणम् ।

सन्तर्दनं प्रकृतौ क्रयणवदनर्थलोपात् स्यात् ॥ २४ ॥

ज्योतिष्ठोमेऽधिष्वेणफलके प्रकृत्य ‘न सन्तृणन्ति असन्तृष्टे हि हनू’ इत्यसन्तर्दनं विधाय पुनः श्रुतं ‘दीर्घसोमे संहचेत् धृत्या’ इति ।

^१ शास्त्रदैपिका, दृ० २५२ ।

^२ शास्त्रदैपिका, दृ० २५१ ।

^३ तन्त्रवाचिक, दृ० ८५१ ।

तत्र किं सन्तर्दनं प्रकृतावेव अथ वौत्थव्यते । यदाष्टुत्कर्षस्तदापि
किं द्विराचादिव्येव आहोस्ति संखान्तरेषु द्विराचादिषु चाविशेषण
अग्निष्ठोमाधिकमात्रे इति सन्देहः ।

तत्र प्रकृतेरपीष्टपशुबन्धाद्यपेत्तया दीर्घलाज्ज्ञैव निवेशः ।
यद्यप्यसन्तर्दनं तत्र विहितं तथापि विकल्पः क्रयवत् ।

ननु क्रयाणां समुच्चय इत्युपरिष्टात् स्थास्यति । सत्यं, पूर्वपक्षेण
दृष्टान्तोऽयम् । तदुक्तमाचार्यैः^१—“ न चावश्यं सिद्धान्तं एव सर्वत्र
दृष्टान्तो भवति । यस्य कस्य चित् निर्दर्शनस्य प्रतिपत्तिकारणल-
सिद्धैः^२ ” रिति तस्मात् प्रकृतौ निवेश इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

इष्टाद्यपेत्तया दीर्घलस्थावभिचारेणाविशेषणात् सोमान्तरा-
पेत्तमेव दीर्घत्वं न च प्रकृते तदस्तौत्युत्कर्षः । न च दीर्घस्य
यजमानस्य सोम इति विद्यहमाश्रित्य प्रकृतावेव निवेशः । कर्म-
धारयस्य बलौद्यस्तात् धृत्या इत्यर्थवादानुपपत्तेश्च । न हि
यजमानदैर्घ्यात् धारणे कश्चिद्विशेषः । तस्मात् कर्मपेत्तमेव दीर्घत्व-
मित्युत्कर्षः स्थितः । स च द्विराचादिव्येव न तु संखासु । तत्रापि
चोदकप्राप्तस्य दशमुष्टेस्तावत् एवाभिषवात् धृत्या इति वाक्यशेषा-
नुपपत्तेः । तस्मात् द्विराचादिव्येवोत्कर्ष इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

सत्यमुत्कर्षो न तु द्विराचादिव्येव । न च चोदकप्राप्तपरिमाण-
विरोधः । दीर्घपर्वसोमग्रहणेन दशमुष्टिचिपर्वपरिमाणयोरविरोधात् ।
न च प्रकरणात्संखाख्येवेति वाच्यम् । संखानां प्रकरणाभावात् ॥

^१ कुमारिलभद्राचार्यैः ।

^२ तत्त्ववार्तिक, ४० दृ० २ ।

१२ प्रवर्गनिषेधाधिकरणम् ।

संख्यायुक्तं क्रतोः प्रकरणात् स्यात् ॥ ३२ ॥

ज्योतिष्ठोमे पुरस्तादुपसदां प्रवर्गयं प्रवृणकौ ति प्रवर्गयं प्रकृत्य श्रूयते
‘न प्रथमयज्ञं प्रवृज्ञ्यादिति ।

तत्र किमयं प्रतिषधो ज्योतिष्ठोमस्याङ्गं उत प्रथमप्रयोगस्येति
संशयः ।

तत्र यज्ञशब्दस्य यागवचनल्वात् प्राथस्यस्य च तद्विशेषणल्वात्
प्रकरणात् ज्योतिष्ठोमनामेदम् । तस्माद्वाक्यात्प्रकरणाच्चायं क्रतो-
रङ्गभिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

प्रयोगाङ्गमिति प्रथमशब्देन ह्याद्यं प्रवर्त्तनमुच्यते न तु क्रतुः ।
स तु प्रयोगविषयलाङ्गचाणया गच्छेत । न च सिद्धान्ते यज्ञशब्दस्य
प्रयोगे लक्षणा स्थादेवेति वाच्यम् । मुख्यप्रथमशब्दानुरोधेन
जघन्ये यज्ञशब्दे लक्षणाच्चा न्यायल्वात् । तस्मात् प्रयोगाङ्गं, प्रथमे
यज्ञप्रयोगे न प्रवृज्ञ्यादिति । अग्निष्ठोमे प्रवृणकौ ति वाक्यान्तरं
तद्विप्रसवार्थम् । तेनाग्निष्ठोमप्रथमप्रयोगे विकल्पः । स च व्यव-
स्थितः । अनूचानेन कर्त्तव्यं अन्वैस्तु नेति । तथा च श्रूयते ‘कामं
तु योऽनूचानः स्यात्तस्य प्रवृज्ञ्यादिति । अतिराचप्रथमाहारे तु
सर्वेषामेवाप्रयोगः प्रतिप्रसवाभावात् । विहितश्चातिराचस्यापि पात्रिकः
प्रथमाहारः । तस्मात् प्रथमं यजमानोऽतिराचेण यजेतेति ॥

१३ पौष्णपेषस्य विकृतौ विनियोगाधिकरणम् ।

पौष्णं पेषणं विकृतौ प्रतीयेताचोदनात् प्रकृतौ ॥ ३४ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः ‘पूषा प्रपिष्ठभागोऽदल्लको हि स’ इति पेषण-
प्रकरणे पूषाभावाद्यत्र पूषा तत्र वाक्यादुत्कृष्टत इति प्राप्तिसूचनेतत् ॥

१४ पौष्णपेषणस्य चरावेव निवेशाधिकरणम् ।

तत्सर्वार्थमविशेषात् ॥ ३५ ॥

तत्पेषणं किं पश्चौ चरौ पुरोडाशे च उत चरावेवेति संशयः ।
अविशेषात्सर्वत्र इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—चरावेवेति । पश्चौ हि
साक्षात्यविकारतया अत्यन्ताप्राप्तं विधेयं स्यात् । हृदयाद्याकृति-
विनाशश्वत्(?) पुरोडाशे तु चोढकादेव सिद्धम् । न चैतद्विधिवलात्
अपणोत्तरकालं पेषणान्तरमस्ति वाच्यम् । अप्राप्तपेषणे चरावस्थ
चरितार्थवात् । तस्माच्चरावेव चोढकप्राप्तं प्रयोजनाभावान्विवर्तमानं
पेषणं प्रति प्रस्तृयत इति लाघवम् । न च पिष्टस्य चरुव्याधातः,
पाकवैश्येन तदुपपत्तेः । अनवस्थावितान्तरुश्चपक्तो हि चरुरित्युच्यते ।
अत एव पिष्टकचरुरिति व्यवहारः ।

१५ पौष्णपेषणस्यैकदेवत्ये निवेशाधिकरणम् ।

एकस्मिन्नेकसंयोगात् ॥ ३६ ॥

चरावेव पेषणमिति स्थितम् । तत्किमन्यसहितपूषदेवताकेऽपि
भवति उत केवलपूषदेवताक इति संशयः ।

द्विदेवत्येऽपि पेषणमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“देवता निष्फला नैव पेषणस्य प्रयोजिका ।

उपादानं च धागस्य भागशब्देन विद्यते^१” ॥

भागशब्दो हि अथागलक्षकः । स च द्विदेवत्यो न केवलेन
पूषणा व्यपदिष्यते । न ह्यैद्राश्चौ यहपुरोडाशौ आग्नेयेन्द्रपौत-
शब्दाभ्यां व्यपदिष्यते इत्युक्तम् । न च तद्वितसमासानन्तर्गतवात्

^१ शास्त्रदौषिका, छ० २५३ ।

पूष्णो वैषम्यमिति शङ्खम् । तथापि द्विदेवत्ये भागशब्दार्थस्त्रैव
पूष्णविशिष्टस्थाभावात् तस्मादेकदेवत्ये एव पैषणमिति सिद्धम् ।

इति मौमांसाश्रास्त्रसर्वस्त्रे तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

संख्यावक्त्रं क्रतोः प्रकरणात् स्थात्^१ ।

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

१ निवौतस्यार्थवादत्वाधिकरणम् ।

निवौतमिति मनुष्यधर्मः शब्दस्य तत्प्रधानत्वात् ॥ १ ॥

श्रुत्यादित्तिकस्य प्रकरणेन सह विरोधाविरोधौ प्राग्बद्धिहापि
चिन्येते । दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते ‘निवौतं मनुष्याणां प्राचीनावौतं
पितृणामुपवौतं देवानामुपव्ययते देवलक्ष्मसेव तत्कृत’ इति ।

तत्र निवौतं मनुष्याणामित्यस्यार्थवादत्वमौडुम्बराधिकरणेन
सिद्धम् । विधिलं क्षत्रा तु चिन्यते । तत्र षष्ठीश्रुत्या शुद्धमनुष्यधर्म
दृत्येकः पञ्चः । “प्रकरणाविरोधात् क्रतुयुक्तपुरुषधर्मो लोहितोष्णी-
षादिवत् दृत्यपरः । प्रकरणात् शुद्धक्रतुधर्मः प्रयाजादिवत् ।
मनुष्यग्रहणन्तु कर्तृसम्बन्धानुवाद दृत्यन्यः । प्राचीनावौतोपवीता-
वैषम्याद्यकरणाविरोधाय च प्रकरणे यन्मनुष्यप्रधानकं कर्मत्वान्वाहार्य-
दानादि तस्य तद्वर्म दृत्यपरः । प्राचीनावौतोपवीतयोः स्त्रतन्त्र-
पितृदेवताप्रधानकर्मविषयत्वात् तदवैषम्यात् निवौतमपि स्त्रतन्त्र-

^१ पद्मित्यसम्बद्धा कुतस्मिन्नेष्वकद्विषयात्प्रयत्नेति भव्ये ।

यन्मनुष्ठप्रधानमातिथ्यादिकर्म तद्भूम इत्यपरः^१ ॥ उपवीतविधे-
रथमर्थवाद् एव । विधेकवाक्यलादिति क्ला चिन्तोद्वाटनम् ॥

इत आरभ्य “विधिस्तु धारणेऽपूर्वत्वा”^२ दित्यन्नान्यधि-
करणानि भाष्यद्वृष्टान्यपि वार्त्तिकानुरोधादुपन्यस्यन्ते ।

२ उपवीतस्य दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गताधिकरणम् ।

उपवीतं लिङ्गदर्शनात् सर्वधर्मः स्यात् ॥ १० ॥

लिङ्गप्रकरणयोर्विरोधाविरोधविचारोऽयम् । दर्शपूर्णमासयोरूप-
व्ययत इति श्रुतम् ।

तत्र स किमुपवीतं सर्वदैवकर्माङ्गसुत दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गमिति संशये
‘मृताग्निहोत्रे प्राचीनावीतौ दोहयेद्यज्ञोपवीतौ हि देवेभ्यो दोह-
यतौ’ति सिद्धवदैवाग्निहोत्रे यज्ञोपवीतानुवादेन लिङ्गेन प्रकरणं
बाधिला सर्वार्थत्वमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

प्रकरणात् दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गं लिङ्गमपि दर्शपूर्णमासस्थखैवानुवादः ।
नचैव देवेभ्य इति बङ्गवचनानुपपत्तिः । सान्नायस्य वैकल्यिकेन्द्र-
महेन्द्रदेवत्यलात् । अग्निहोत्रे तु अग्निसूर्यप्रजापत्यमिप्रायेण तदुप-
पत्तेरिति चेत्र । प्रकृतिविष्णुतिर्देवताभिप्रायेण तदुपपत्तेः ।

३ उपवीतस्य विधित्वाधिकरणम् ।

विधिर्वा स्यादपूर्वत्वात् ॥ १२ ॥

उपव्ययत इत्युदाहरणम् । ‘नियोदकी निययज्ञोपवीतौ’ति
स्यतिप्राप्तवादनुवाद इति प्राप्ते विधिरिति सिद्धान्तः ।

^१ शास्त्रदैपिका, ३० २६० ।

^२ भौमांसाद्वचनम्, ३-४-१५ ।

पुरुषार्थतया हि स्मृतिः प्राप्तिः । क्रल्पर्थतया तु विधिरयम् ।
एवं वा स्मृतिप्राप्तस्यायमनुवादः । स्मृतिश्च सर्वकर्मार्थितया प्रापय-
तीति पूर्वः पक्षः ।

प्रकरणाद्ग्राह्णपूर्णमासाङ्गमिति सिद्धान्तः ।

एवं वा मृताग्निहोत्रे श्रूयते 'यज्ञोपवीतौ हि देवेभ्यो दोह-
यती'ति ।

किमयं देवाग्निहोत्राङ्गतया यज्ञोपवीतस्य विधिः उत दर्शपूर्ण-
मासादिषु प्राप्तस्य प्राचीनावौतस्तुत्यर्थोऽनुवादः ।

तत्र प्राचीनावौती दोहयतीति अग्निहोत्रस्य मृतावस्थायां
वचनात् यज्ञोपवीतौ हीत्यादिनापि तस्यैव जीवदवस्थायां उपवीतं
गम्यते । तत्त्वापूर्वत्वाद्विधिलं कल्पनौ ?)यम् । स्थितं तावदपर्य-
वसितम् ॥

४ उपवीतोदग्रत्वयोरनुवादताधिकरणम् ।

उदकृत्वं चापूर्वत्वात् ॥ १३ ॥

तत्रैव श्रूयते 'ये पुरोदशो दर्भास्तान् दक्षिणायांस्तृणौयादिति ।

ये पुरोदश इति विधिरुतानुवाद इति संशये वाक्यभेदेन
विधिः । पुरा जीवदवस्थायां ये दर्भास्ते उदशः कार्या इति ।
दक्षिणायानिति तु मृतावस्थाविषयकं वाक्यान्तरमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

विधिभावाद्विधिन्तरैकवाक्यत्वाच्चानुवादः । न चापूर्वत्वम् ।
'अग्रवन्युदग्राणी'तिसर्वकर्मविषयिष्ठा स्मृत्यैवाग्निहोत्रेऽपि तत्राप्तेः ।
अत एव यच्छब्दोपबन्धोऽपि । स्थितादुन्नरयज्ञोपवीतौ हि देवेभ्यो
दोहयतीति हि शब्दोपबन्धात् प्राचीनावौतिविधिविशेषलात् अनु-
वादलं न चापूर्वत्वम् । दर्शपूर्णमासादिषु प्राप्तत्वात् तस्माच्च रूप-
भक्तेन विधिकत्पना ॥

५ समिद्वारणस्य विधिताधिकरणम् ।

विधिस्तु धारणे पूर्वत्वात् ॥ १५ ॥

मृताग्निहोत्रे श्रूयते ‘अधस्तात् समिधं धारयन्नुद्वेदुपरि हि इवेभ्यो धारयती’ति ।

किमयं जीवदग्निहोत्रे विधिरुतानुवाद इति संशये आचार-प्राप्तस्थानुवादः । सर्वमध्यर्हितं इवं प्रच्छादैव देशान्तरं नियमिति आचारः । अतोऽग्निहोत्रद्वयमपि गार्हपत्यादाहवनीयमानीयमान-माच्छादयितव्यम् । तत् केनेत्याकाङ्क्षायां नियमादृष्टार्थं समिद्विधानम् । सा चोपरि धार्यमाणैव प्रच्छादनहमा न लब्ध्येति प्राप्तसुपरि धारणमनूद्यते । इत्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

सुगदण्डे इति देशनियमाद्विषः प्रागसौ धारयितव्या तेजोपरि धारणमपासं हविःप्रच्छादकलायोगात् । अतो हिश्वदत्यागेन वाक्यं भिला विधिः कल्प्यते ॥

६ दिग्विभागस्यार्थवादताधिकरणम् ।

दिग्विभागश्च तद्वत्संबन्धस्यार्थहेतुत्वात् ॥ १६ ॥

‘प्राचीनवंशं करोती’ति विधाय श्रूयते ‘प्राचीं देवा व्यभजन्ति दक्षिणां पितरः प्रतीचौ मनुष्या’ इत्यादि । तत्र निवीताधिकरणवत् सर्वे पक्षा रचयितव्याः । अभ्यधिकाशङ्का तु—

“पुरा कल्पखरूपेण भजत्यर्थानुषङ्गिणा ।

दिग्विभागस्य सम्बन्धात् निवीतातुत्यतामतिः” ॥

सिद्धान्तसु प्राप्तवत् ॥

७ परुषि दितादीनामनुवादताधिकरणम् ।

परुषि दितपूर्णष्टविदग्धच्च तद्वत् ॥ १७ ॥

‘यत्परुषि दितं तदेवानां यदन्तरा तन्मनुष्याणा’मिति, तथा ‘यत् पूर्णं तन्मनुष्याणा’मिति, तथा ‘घृतं देवानां, मसु पितृणां निष्पक्षं मनुष्याणा’मिति ।

तत्र मनुष्यसंयुक्ता उदाहरणम् । तथा ‘यो विदग्धः स नैर्वतः योऽश्रितः स रौद्रः’ इति । अत्रापि निवौतवत् सर्वं पक्षा योज्याः ।

अभ्यधिकाशंका लेषा—विधिलेपौह न फलं कल्प्यम् । लौकिकानामेव कृतफलानां विशेषनियममात्रविधानात् । यद्भर्त्तवतं तदान्तरा कर्त्तव्यम् । यावन्मीयते तावत् पूर्णं मातव्यम् । यावच्च खेहकार्यं तर्सर्वं विलीनेन नवनीतेन निष्पक्षायुतशब्दवाच्येन कर्त्तव्यमिति । ततश्च नियमादृष्टमाचं भविष्यति । नैर्वतरौद्रयोश्च विदग्धलाघृतले कर्त्तव्य दूति । प्रसिद्धयोरेव नैर्वतरौद्रयोर्गुणमात्रविधौ लाघवमिति । तामिमां शङ्कां व्यावर्त्तयितुमतिदेशः ॥

८ अनृतवदननिषेधस्य क्रतुधर्मताधिकरणम् ।

अकर्म क्रतुसंयुक्तं संयोगान्वित्यानुवादः स्यात् ॥ १८ ॥

क्रतुप्रकरणगताः प्रतिषेधा उदाहरणम् । दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रुतं ‘नानृतं वदेदि’ति ।

किमयं पुरुषार्थं उत क्रत्वर्थं दूति सन्देहः ।

सर्वत्र च यो यदर्थप्रवृत्तः सन् निवार्यते स तदर्थमेव प्रतिषिद्धो भवतीति प्रवृत्तिकैर्मर्थक्यं चिन्तनीयम् । तदप्यभिधायकाख्यातवशेन निर्णयमित्याख्यातशब्दाश्चिन्त्याः । किमर्थाः प्रवृत्तौरपाददत्त इति । तदर्थमपि किमाख्यातं कर्त्तवाचकं न वेति ।

तत्र—

“प्रतीतेः स्मरणात् कर्त्तुर्विशेषैरपृथक् श्रुतेः ।

कर्त्तुवाच्चिलभास्यातप्रत्ययस्यावसीयते१” ॥

वदेदिति ह्याख्यातात् कर्त्ता प्रतीयते । ‘कर्त्तरि छदि’ति चाधिक्षयं ‘लः कर्मणि चेति चकारेण कर्त्तुवाच्चिलं सर्वते । पचति देवदत्त इति च कर्त्तुविशेषवाच्कैः सामानाधिकरणं दृश्यते । तस्मात् प्रकृत्यर्थभूतं वदनं प्रत्ययवाच्यपुरुषार्थमिति प्रतिषेधोऽपि तदर्थं एव न्यायः । तदयमर्थः । यत्पुरुषोपकारितया प्रसक्तं वदनं तत्र तथा किञ्चपकारभेवास्य साधयतीति । तेन श्रुत्या प्रकरणं बाधिवा पुरुषार्थः प्रतिषेधः । अयमेव च स्मार्तस्य प्रतिषेधस्य मूलमिति ।

अत्रोच्यते—

“आख्यातप्रत्ययाः सर्वे क्रियाया अभिधायकाः ।

तत एव प्रतीतस्य न कर्त्तुरभिषेयता२” ॥

न च व्याकरणस्मृतिविरोधः । + + कथोरिति संख्याशास्त्रेण सहैकवाक्यापन्नस्य ‘लः कर्मणैत्यस्य कर्त्तुरेकलेऽभिषेदे लकारैक-वचनं तिबादिग्रयोक्तव्यमित्यर्थपर्यवसानेन संख्यावाच्चिलपर्यवसायित्वात् । “यदि हि शास्त्रैकदेशालोचनमाचेण विरोध उद्भावते तर्हि यावज्जीववाक्यमाचापेक्ष्याऽदौचितादिरप्यजुङ्क्न् प्रत्यवेयात् ।

आह च—

अन्य एवैकदेशेन शास्त्रस्यार्थः प्रतीयते ।

अन्यस्त्र परिपूर्णेन समस्ताङ्गोपसंहृतौ ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, द१० २६५ ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, द१० २६७ ।

विशेषेण च व्याकरणे । तत्र ह्यैकैसिन् पदे प्रायेणाष्टाधायौ
व्याप्रियते^१ ॥

नन्देवं देवदत्तेन पच्यत इत्येव देवदत्तः पचतौत्यत्रापि तिङ्-
कर्तुरनभिधानात् अनभिहिताधिकारविहिता तत्त्वाया स्थात् । न
च संख्यायामनभिहितायाभिति तदर्थः । देवदत्तः पाठक इत्य-
त्रापि तदापत्तेः । ××× लासंख्यानभिधानादिति चेत् । न ।

अनभिहितलं हि अबोधितलम् । बोधश्च शत्र्या लक्षण्या
वेत्यन्यदेतत् । यदा वृद्धिगुणशब्दौ लोकवेदयोरादैजदेढां वाचक-
लेन वद्यपि न दृष्टौ ; अथापि वैयाकरणैः स्खास्त्रपरिभाषितौ ।
यथा वा असन्नेव लक्षार उत्प्रेक्षितस्तथापि कर्तृकर्माभिधायित्वमपि
तेषां पारिभाषिकमस्तु । यत्र तु न्यायानुगतिस्त्रुत्य लोकवेदयोरपि
तदुक्तार्थपरिग्रहः । न चैतावता स्वतेरप्रामाण्यम् । अर्थवादवत्ता-
त्पर्यविषये प्रामाण्यात् । न चैवं कर्तुरेव वाच्यले सामानाधि-
करण्यानुपपत्तिः । शुक्ला गौरिति वत् लक्षण्या तदुपपत्तेः ।
तस्मात् औतलाभावाच्च प्रकरणं बाध्यते । न चैवं दर्शपूर्णमास-
विधिनैव विहितलादङ्गे विधिरनर्थकः स्यादिति वाच्यम् । तद-
भावधात्वर्थस्यैव भाव्यतापत्तौ दर्शपूर्णमासकथंभावेन यहणानुपपत्तेः ।
तस्मादाकाङ्क्षोच्छापकलेनाङ्कविधिरर्थवान् । आह च—

“ यावन्न विधिसंस्कर्णस्तावन्नास्य प्रथोजनम् ।

विना च तेन धात्वर्थो न क्रत्वङ्गं प्रतौद्यते^२ ” ॥

“ अतश्च वदेदित्यनैवमवगतं ‘दर्शपूर्णमासोपकारं वदनेन
साधये’दिति । अनृतपदबलाच्च (एवं भवति) ‘यददनेन कुर्या-

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, श० १५३-१५४ ।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, श० १७८ ।

न दनृते नैति । पुनस्य न ज्ञा सम्भवात् यदनृतवदनेनोपकुर्यात्
तत्वेति । ततस्य यावान् कर्मार्थो वादस्तत्रानृतं वर्जनीयम् । तेन
यवमयः पुरोडाशः कर्त्तव्य इत्येवं आदावध्यर्युमुक्ता अन्ते ब्रौहिमय
एव क्रियतामिति न विसम्बद्धितव्यम्^१” ।

सार्त्तसु प्रतिषेधः पुरुषार्थः स्वतन्त्र एव । न लेतन्मूलकः । न
च तेनैव पुरुषस्य सर्वदा अनृते व्यावर्त्तिं किमनेनेति वाच्यम् ।
शुद्धपुरुषधर्मातिक्रितोरज्ञमिष्टः प्रकारणाश्रयात् इति ॥

६ जंजभ्यमानधर्माणां प्रकारणे निवेशाधिकरणम् ।

अहौनवत् पुरुषधर्मस्तदर्थत्वात् ॥ २० ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते ‘जंजभ्यमानो ब्रूयात् मयि दक्षक्रतू’ इति ।
तत्र किमिदं मन्त्रवचनं शुद्धपुरुषधर्मं उत क्रतुयुक्तपुरुषसंस्कारः
क्रतोरेवाङ्गमिति संशयः ।

तत्र—

“ जंजभ्यमानधर्मोऽयं वाक्यात् प्रकारणेन तु ।

क्रतुङ्गं दुर्बलं तत्त्वं तेनास्य पुरुषार्थतारे ” ॥

न चैवं फलकल्पना देषाय । वाक्यावगतपुरुषार्थत्वलेन
फलाकाङ्गाणां सत्यां ‘प्राणापानावेवात्मव्यक्ते’ इति वाक्यशेषेण
रात्रिसत्रवत् फलखाभात् । “ कर्त्तरि क्षदिति अनन्यपरस्मरणा”—
दित्याचार्योः^२ । यद्यपि शानच्चप्रत्ययेनेवं स्वरणमुपन्यासार्हं लादि-
माचविषयत्वात् । अन्यथा क्रियमाणो घट इत्यादौ कर्मणि शानच्च
प्रत्ययो न स्यात् । तदुक्तम्—कृदाक्यशेषोयमनिर्दिष्टार्थं × ×

^१ नन्त्रवाचिक, ष० ९७८ ।

^२ शास्त्रदीपिका, ष० १६८ ।

^३ कुमारिलभट्टाचार्यासन्नवाचिके, ष० ६८२-६८३ ।

× लादिष्पतिष्ठते । न तु लेषनिर्जातार्थविति (?) । तथापि लः कर्मणीत्यनेनैवाच कर्त्तवाचकलं बोद्धव्यम् । न हि तिवादिष्विव ग्रानजिव धावपि (?) श्वेकयोरित्यादिनैकवाक्यतास्ति येन संख्या-माचं वाच्यं भवेत् । सुप्तिङ्गामेवैकवचनादिसंज्ञाविधानात् ।

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—सत्यं वाक्यं प्रबलं किन्तु विरोधो न चेह सः क्रतावपि जंजभ्यमानपुरुषसत्वात् । तस्मान्तसंखारमुखेनैव क्रत्वर्थलम् । तथा च फलमपि न कल्पयिति ॥

१० अवगोरणादीनां पुमर्थताधिकरणम् ।

शंयौ च सर्वपरिदानात् ॥ २३ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते ‘यो ब्राह्मणायावगुरेदिति ।

किमयं प्रतिषेधः क्रत्वर्थः पुरुषार्थो वेति संशयः ।

“तत्र—

फलाभावात् क्रतोश्चापि प्रकृतलान्तर्दर्थता ।

कृपत्वान्तु फलस्यायं पुरुषार्थो न तु क्रतोः^१” ॥

यातयादिति हि साध्यतया यातना गम्यते न तु पूर्वाधि-करणस्यप्राणधारणवद्वर्तमानतया । निषिद्धफलं च प्रदर्शनमाचेणैव सम्बद्धते न तु विधिफलवत् कामपदोपबन्धमपेचते । न हि कश्चित्पापफलं कामयते । तस्मात् फलवल्वात् पुरुषार्थः न क्रत्वर्थः ।

११ मलवद्वासःसंवादनिषेधाधिकरणम् ।

प्रागपरोधान्मलवद्वाससः ॥ २४ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते ‘मलवद्वाससा न सम्बद्धेदिति ।

किमयं प्रतिषेधः क्रत्वर्थः पुरुषार्थो वेति संशयः ।

^१ शास्त्रदैपिका, पृ० २३६ ।

प्रकरणात् क्रल्प्ये प्राप्ते ब्रूमः— तामपरथ यजेतेति वचनात् सर्वसात् क्रतुव्यापारात् निवृत्ता रजखला । तेनानया सह समादस्य क्रतावप्रसक्ताल्वात् प्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिः । पुरुषस्य हि स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रवर्त्त-मानस्य रजखलया प्रसञ्चते सम्बाद इति स एव प्रतिषिधते । तस्मात् पुरुषार्थता ।

१२ सुवर्णधारणादीनां पुरुषधर्मताधिकरणम् ।

अप्रकरणे तु तद्वर्मस्ततो विशेषात् ॥ २६ ॥

अनारभ्य श्रूयते ‘तस्मात् सुवर्णं हिरण्यं भार्यं दुर्वर्णोऽस्य भावव्यो भवतौ’ति ।

तत्र संशयः—किं हिरण्यधारणमिदं क्रल्प्यतया विधीयते उत क्रतुगतहिरण्यानुवादेन धारणसंस्कारो विधीयते । अथ वा हिरण्यं हस्ते भवतौति विहितधारणानुवादेन सुवर्णलं शोभनरूपता विधीयते अद्विहरणं भार्यं तत्सुवर्णमिति उत हिरण्यधारणं पुरु-षार्थतया विधीयत इति ।

तत्र—

“पुरुषार्थत्वपचे हि फलं कल्प्यमतः क्रतोः ।

अङ्गं स्थादैदिकलेन क्रियालेन च साम्यतः^१ ” ॥

“अथ वा धारणस्य स्वभावत एव धार्यमाणसंस्कारल्वात् शत्यश्रुत्या च हिरण्यस्य प्राधान्यावगमान्विषयोजनस्य च लौकिकस्य संस्कारायोगात् क्रतुगतहिरण्यानुवादेन धारणसंस्कारविधिः । अथ वा लाघवाद्वारणमप्यनूद्य सुवर्णतामाचं विधीयते । चेद्यापि^२”
क्रल्प्यतेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

^१ शास्त्रदैपिका, ष० २७१ ।

^२ शास्त्रदैपिका, ष० २७१ ।

“ न क्रतुस्तद्विरणं वा नियमेनाच^१ गम्यते ।

तसान्व क्रतुशेषलं विधेस्तु पुरुषार्थताः ” ॥

सर्वे ह्यनारभ्यवादो वाक्यसंयोगेनाङ्गं विधत्ते लिङ्गेन वा ।
न चेहोभयमप्यहि । न च हिरण्यधारणं लिङ्गम् । जुङ्गादिवद-
व्यभिचरितक्रतुसम्बन्धाभावात् । लोकेऽपि हिरण्यसङ्घावात् । न हि
द्रव्यार्जनं क्रत्वर्थं किन्तु पुरुषार्थमिति चतुर्थं वच्यामः ।

यत्तु संख्यार्थवात् क्रतुगतहिरण्यप्रतीतिरिति तत्र । क्रतुगत-
हिरण्यानुवादनिश्चये संख्यार्थलनिश्चयः । तनिश्चये च निष्प्रयोजनस्य
संख्यार्थलायोगात् क्रतुगतहिरण्यप्रतीतिरिति अन्योन्याश्रयात् । न
च स्वभावतः संख्यार्थलमदृष्टार्थलेऽपि धारणाविरोधात् । क्षत्य-
प्रत्ययसु साधतामाच्चमाह न तु शेषिलम् । अतो न क्रत्वर्थं किन्तु
पुरुषार्थम् । फलं तु रात्रिसत्त्वायेन भाववस्थ दुर्वर्णत्वम् ॥

१३ जयादीनां वैदिककर्माङ्गताधिकरणम् ।

शेषोऽप्रकरणे^२ विशेषात् सर्वकर्मणाम् ॥ ३१ ॥

अनारभ्य श्रुतम्, ‘येन कर्मणा ईर्वत्ते तत्र जयान् जुङ्गयात्’
इति ।

किं सर्वेषां खौकिकवैदिककर्मणां जयादयोऽङ्गं उत वैदिकाना-
नेवाहवनौयतां इति संशयः ।

तत्रापि शेषात् छष्ठिराजसेवादीनामपि जयादयोऽङ्गम् । तैरपि
च्छ्रिधितुमिच्छति । यद्यपि छष्ठादीनामाहवनौयो नास्ति तथापि
जयाद्यनुरोधादाहवनौयोपि सम्यादनौयः ।

१ ‘नियमेनाच’ इत्यत्र ‘धारणं वाच’ शास्त्रदैपिकासम्भवः पाठः ।

२ शास्त्रदैपिका, पृ० २७२ ।

३ अत तन्मवार्त्तिके ‘शेषः प्रकरणे’ इत्यादि पाठः ।

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

“समानदेशता नित्यमिष्टतेऽङ्गप्रधानयोः ।

न च कृष्णादिभिः साक्षेषां स्यात्तुखदेशता” ॥

कर्षणं हि भूमौ क्रियते राजकूले (च) सेवा । जयाद्यख्याहवनीये कर्त्तव्याः । तेन वैदेशाद्वैशुण्यं स्यात् ।

ननु चेत्तेवाहवनीयं मीला होयते इति चेत् । एवमपि विलेखनहोमयोर्देशभेदापरिच्छारात् । न ह्यैकैकसिन् विदारणस्थले आहवनीयं निच्छिय होतुं शक्यते । वैदिकेषु लाहवनीयादिमत्सु प्रधानसादेशं लभ्यत इत्यैशुण्यात्तचैव जयाद्यः ।

१४ वैदिकाश्वप्रतिग्रह इष्टिकर्तव्यताधिकरणम् ।

दोषात्त्विष्टिलौकिके स्यात् शास्त्राद्वि वैदिके न दोषः स्यात् ॥ ३४ ॥

तैत्तिरीयाः काम्येष्टिकाण्डे समामनन्ति—‘थावतोऽश्वान् प्रतिगृहीयात्तावतो वारुणं शतुक्षपालान्निर्वपेदिति । सेयं दातुरिष्टिं तु प्रतिग्रहीतुरिति वच्यते ।

सा किं लौकिके अश्वदाने मित्रादिभ्यः स्वेहादिना विधिमपेच्य क्रियमाणे निमित्ते पुरुषार्थी विधीयते उत वैदिके कर्माङ्गभूते क्रत्वर्थतया उतोभयचेति संशयः ।

तत्राविशेषादुभयचेति प्राप्त उच्यते—कर्मणः फलापेचाद्यां ‘स एवैनं वरुणपाशान्मुच्यति’ इति वाक्यशेषात् दोषनिर्धातः फलं निर्णयते । तेन यत्र दोषत्वेष्टिः । लौकिके च दोषोऽस्मि । ‘न केसरिणो ददाती’ति निषेधात् । वैदिकेषु कर्माङ्गदाने विधि-

सृष्टवाचास्ति दोषः । तस्मात् कार्यवशात् लौकिके दृष्टिरिति । भवेदेवं यदि दोषनिर्धातफलकता स्यात् । इह तु वरुणग्रहनिर्मोक्ष एव फलवेऽवगम्यते । वरुणपाशान्मुच्चतीति वरुणग्रहो जलोदर-पर्यायः । न च लौकिकमश्वदानं जलोदरनिदानभित्यच मानमस्ति । प्रतिषेधेन पापमात्रकल्पनात् । अथ दृष्टेतौति व्युत्पत्त्या वरुणशब्दः पापमेव वदेत् । तर्हि वैदिकेऽपि त्यागप्रयुक्तदुःखस्यैव वरुण-शब्दार्थलं सम्भवति । इश्वाडम्बरविनोदेन तदुःखशमनात् ‘स एव एनं वरुणपाशान्मुच्चती’ त्यथुपपद्यते । तस्माच्च लौकिकविषयता । नायुभयत्र । नैमित्तिकस्य वैदिकलेन तत्पादृश्यादैदिकमेव दानं शौभ्रसुपतिष्ठते । तेन तत्सम्बन्धिकादृपस्थानात् तादर्थावगमे तावनाचेण च नैराकाङ्क्षे सति लौकिकस्य यहे फलकल्पनायां च प्रमाणाभावात् ।

किञ्च—

“लौकिके पुरुषार्थलं वैदिके क्रतुशेषता ।

न चैकस्योभयार्थलं वैरुप्यादुपपद्यते^१” ॥

तस्मादैदिक एव स्यात् ॥

१५ दातुर्वारुणीष्यधिकरणम् ।

अचोदितं च कर्मभेदात् ॥ ३६ ॥

इयमेवेष्टिरुदाहरणं किमियं प्रतियहीतुरुत दातुरिति सन्देहः ।

तत्र विधुद्देशवलीयस्थात् प्रतियहीतुरिति प्राप्तम् ।

अर्थवादस्तु प्रधानानुरोधेन व्याख्येयः । दातुरपि किल दोषः किं पुनः प्रतियहीतुरिति ।

सिद्धान्तसु—

“असंजातविरोधिलात् अर्थवादो यथा श्रुतः ।

आख्येयन्तदिरुद्धस्यै विष्णुदेशस्य लक्षणारै” ॥

प्रतिगृहीयादिति प्रतियहकर्त्तौच्यते । अस्ति हि दातुरपि
प्रयोजककर्त्तृलभम् । एव ज्ञार्थवादोऽपि संगच्छते । तत्र हि प्रजा-
पतिर्वर्हणायाश्वमनयदिति प्रजापतिर्दीता संकौर्तिः । स स्वां
देवतामाच्छ्रृत् । सः समानविभक्तिनिर्दिष्टः प्रजापतिरेव स्वां
देवतामिति पूर्ववाक्ये सम्बद्धानतया निर्देशादरुणम् । तेन प्रजा-
पतिरश्च इला वहण्यहं प्राप्त इत्यर्थः । ‘स पर्यदीर्घत स एतं वारुणं
चतुष्कपालमपश्यत् तं निरवपत् ततो वै स वस्त्रपाशादसुच्यते’ति
सर्वत्र प्रजापतिरेव दाताऽनुष्ठयते । यद्यपि ‘श्रुतेजाताधिकारः
स्यादित्यचैवोपक्रमप्रावल्यं निर्णैतं तथापि च्छगादिशब्दा बहुलं
बेदे दृष्टप्रयोगाः । गृह्णातिसु दावव्यापारे न चाचिहृष्टः । तेन
नासौ तत्परलेन व्याख्यातुं शक्यत इति विशेषाशङ्कानिवृत्यर्थमेत-
दधिकरणम् ।

भाष्यकारान्तरैसु प्रतियहीतुरेवेष्टिराश्रिता । तत्तु न्याय-
विरुद्धम् ॥

१६३ वैदिकपानव्यापदधिकरणम् ।

पानव्यापच्च तद्वत् ॥ ३८ ॥

अनारभ्य श्रूयते ‘सौमेन्द्रं चरं निर्वपेत् यः सोमं वमती’ति ।

अत्रापि पूर्ववल्संशयः—किं लौकिके रसायनाद्यर्थं पौत्रे वानो
पुरुषार्थतया इयमिष्टिरुत वैदिके क्रालर्थतया अथ वोभयचेति ।

१ टत्त्वीयचरणे ‘आख्येयस्यदिरुद्धलात्’ इति पाठः शास्त्रदैपिकाकारैर्धृतः ।

२ शास्त्रदैपिका, ष० १७५ ।

“तत्राविशेषादुभयोर्दीषादा लौकिके भवेत् ।

दोषो ह्यत्रास्ति वमनात् वृद्धिरक्षियवीर्ययोः^१” ॥

विवा एष इन्द्रियेण वीर्येण व्यृथते इति कीर्त्यमानो दोषो न
वस्त्रण्यहवदत्यन्ताविद्यमानः । तेन तत्संयोगास्त्रौकिके स्थात् वैदिके
तु पानमाचस्य शास्त्रार्थत्वात् वमनेऽपि दोषाभावात् प्रायश्चित्त-
विधिर्वर्यः । एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

न तावस्त्रौकिके दोषोस्ति वमनार्थमेव पानात् । वैदे तु
सम्यग्जराणपर्यन्तमेव पानं शास्त्रार्थः । तच्च वमनाद्विपद्यते । अतो
दोषवशात् वैदिके स्थात् ।

१७ सौमेन्द्रचरोर्यजमानपानव्यापद्विषयताधि- करणम् ।

तत्सर्वत्राविशेषात् ॥ ४० ॥

सेयमिष्टिः किं यजमानवमन एव उत च्छलिग्वमनेऽपौति संशयः ।
अविशेषात् सर्वत्रेति प्राप्त उच्यते—यः सोमं वमति स निर्वपे-
दिति यत् शब्दसंयोगाद्वमनयागयोरेकः कर्ता गम्यते तस्मात्
खामिकमेव वमनं निमित्तं न तु च्छलिग्वमनम् ॥

१८ आग्नेयाष्टाकपालचरोर्द्यवदानमाचस्य होत- व्यताधिकरणम् ।

सर्वप्रदानं हविषस्तदर्थत्वात् ॥ ४३ ॥

दर्शपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते—‘आग्नेयोऽष्टाकपाल’ इति । तथा
उपस्थृणाति अभिधारयति द्विर्विषोऽवद्यति चतुरवत्तं जुहोति इति ।

तत्र किं सकलस्य पुरोडाशस्याहवनौये प्रदानसुत द्विवदानमाचं
प्रदायान्यच्छेषयितयमिति संशयः ।

तत्राष्ट्राकपालशब्दस्यावयवपरत्वे लक्षणा प्रसङ्गात् अत्या पुरो-
डाशावयवेव देवता सम्बन्धौ । तस्मात् सकलस्य प्रदानम् ।
एव इत्यन्तर्गिण्ठं द्विवदानसुपायत्वेन नेयम् । ‘यत् सकलं जुहोति
तद्विरवदायेति । ततस्यार्थाद्यागस्याभ्यासः । शेषकार्याणि तु
स्थिष्टकदादीनि हविरन्तरमाचेष्यन्तीति पूर्वः पच्चः ।

सिद्धान्तसु—

“यागः प्रधानमेकेन द्विवदानेन साधितः ।

इत्यमलौति छालासौ नावृत्तिं प्रतिपद्यते^१” ॥

न चेह सोमयागवदभ्यासमन्तरेणानुपपत्तिः । उत्पत्तिशिष्टं
यत्पुरोडाशस्याग्नेयत्वं तस्यैतावतायुपपत्तेः यत्ततो गृहीतं द्विवदानं
अग्नये दौयते । अग्निदेवत्यथागसाधनता द्वाग्नेयता साधनत्वं च
ब्रौहीणां पुरोडाशद्वारेव प्रणाद्यायुपपत्तम् । तस्माच्च सर्वप्रदानम् ।
अतोऽस्मि शेषः । तत्रयुक्ताच्च शेषकार्याणि अप्रयोजकानौति
भाव्यकाराः ।

आचार्याख्लाङ्कः—साक्षात्साधनत्वसम्भवे प्रणाडौमाश्रित्याग्नेयत्व-
समर्थनमयुक्तम् । न च चतुरवत्तं जुहोतौति वाक्यं प्रमाणम् ।
यच्चतुरवत्तमिति उपस्तरणादिवाक्यप्राप्तं चतुरवत्तं द्वितीयथा
संख्यार्थत्वेनोद्दिश्य प्रचेपास्यप्रतिपत्तिमाच्य तेज विधानेऽपि साध-
नान्तराविधानात् । तस्मात् पुरोडाश एव यागसाधनम् । न च
साप्तदश्यवदाग्नेयत्वं द्विवदानमाचे उपसंहित इति वाच्यम् ।
साप्तदश्य हि अनारभ्यवादेन सामिधेनानुकूलं न तु कदम्बाम् ।

तत्र क्रतुसम्बन्धस्तद्वारेणानुमानिकः । न च प्रत्यक्षसम्बन्धे सत्यानु-
मानिकः कल्प इति युक्त उपसंहारः । अष्टाकपालस्य तु तद्वित-
श्रुत्या सुटः देवतासम्बन्धः । द्विवदानस्य तानुमानिकः ।

आह च—

“ सामान्यविधिरस्यष्टः संहितेत विशेषतः ।

स्यष्टस्य तु विधेनान्यैरूपसंहारसम्भवः^१ ” ॥

अधिकरणन्तु होमविषयम् । तत्र प्रायेण हविषां होमदर्शना-
द्यग्निमुखा वै देवा’ इति चार्यवादात् सकलस्य होम इति प्राप्ते
चतुरवत्तं जुहोतौतिवचनान्तावत् एव होमः । सकलस्य तु देवता-
सम्बन्धस्यागमाचादेवोपपन्नः । एवच्च शेषकार्याण्यपि संगच्छन्ते ।

नन्मादिभ्यो दत्तं कथं स्थिष्ठते दीयते त्यक्तस्य पुनः स्वौकारे
शिष्टाचारविरोधादिति चेत् । प्रत्यक्षश्रुत्या आचारबाधात् ।

१६ सर्वशेषैः स्थिष्ठकादनुष्ठानाधिकरणम् ।

अप्रयोजकत्वादेकस्मात् क्रियेन् शेषस्य गुणभूत-
त्वात् ॥ ४८ ॥

शेषकार्याणि स्थिष्ठकाददीनि किमेकस्याद्विषः कार्याणि उत
सर्वभ्य इति विचारः ।

तत्र शेषात् स्थिष्ठत इति शास्त्रार्थस्य सङ्कल्पते छतवात्
एकस्मादेव कार्याणि न सर्वभ्य इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

भवेदेवं यदि शेषगुणकानि प्रधानकर्मण्येतानि स्युः । न चैवं
किन्तु प्रतिपत्तिरूपाणि । सा च यस्यैव न क्रियते तस्यैव प्रति-

पञ्चनियमलोपात् वैगुण्णं स्थात् सर्वभ्यः । प्रतिपञ्चिलं चैषां चतुर्थं
वक्ष्यते ।

२० प्राथमिकशेषात् स्विष्टकदनुष्ठानाधिकरणम् ।

एकस्माच्चेद्याथाकाम्यविशेषात् ॥ ५२ ॥

क्लावा चिन्तेयं यदा एकस्मात् कार्याणि तदा किं यतः
कुतस्ति उत सुख्यादेव ।

तत्र विशेषाभावादनियमे प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

सुखस्य प्राप्तनिमित्तलात् शेषे स्थापिते तत एव शेषकार्याणा-
सुपपत्तेनिमित्तविधाताच्चेतरेभ्यः शेषस्थापनम् ॥

२१ पुरोडाशविभागस्य भक्षार्थताधिकरणम् ।

भक्षाश्रवणाहानशब्दः परिक्रये ॥ ५४ ॥

आग्नेयं चतुर्धा क्लेदं ब्रह्मण इत्यादिभिर्व्यपदेशैर्च्छिम्भः
समर्पयन्ति ।

तत्र किमिदं समर्पणं च्छिजां घेष्टविनियोगार्थं परिक्रयाद्य
उत इव्यपतिपत्त्यर्थं भक्षणायेति संशयः ।

तत्र—

“भक्षस्याश्रवणाच्चावच्चादर्थं नावगम्यते ।

कियत्थायानतिस्तेन^१ भवतीति तदर्थतारू” ॥

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—सकलस्य हविषो देवतायै प्रदत्तलात् अनीशानो
यजमानः च्छिगिभस्तुलः स कथं परिक्रीणीत अस्त्रामिलात् ।

१ ‘वेनैत्यत्र ‘ताव’दिति पाढः शास्त्रदीपिकाकारैर्दृष्टः ।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, पृ० २८१ ।

तस्मान् परिक्रयः । शेषस्य प्रतिपत्त्यपेक्षलाद्योग्यतया च पुरोडाशस्य
भक्षणमेव प्रतिपत्तिरिति अवगतलात् । कर्तृविशेषमात्रापेक्षायां
ब्रह्मादयो नियम्यन्ते । तन्नियमस्यापि दृष्टमेव प्रयोजनम् । तेषां
करिष्यमाणप्रयोगकर्मकौशलम् । भक्षणाद्वि सामर्थ्यं न भवतीति
तस्मात् भक्षणार्थोऽयमुपदेश इति सिद्धम् ॥

इति मौमांसाशास्त्रसर्वस्त्रे टत्तौथाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः^१ ॥

१ अत जर्द्धे ग्रन्थी नोपलभ्यते आदर्शपुस्तके ।

III.—The Yaunas of the Purāṇas and the Last Kushāṇa Emperor in India.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

1. *Yāunāḥ* of the Purāṇas¹ (misspelt as *Māunāḥ*), which I took to represent the Kushāṇa title *Jauva*,² can be now demonstrated to denote the Kushāṇa dynasty.
2. There is an inscription, found at Khura³ in the Salt Range (Punjab) and now deposited in the 'Kura' inscription. Lahore Museum, which was inscribed under the reign of a king who, it is strange, has not yet been properly identified, although there have been ample materials for the identification. The king was undoubtedly a Kushāṇa king of the imperial line.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE KING.

3. Dr. Bühler who edited the inscription in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 238, did not identify the Its script. king or his dynasty but 'on paleographical grounds' he held that 'it (the inscription) may be assigned to the fourth or the fifth century' (p. 239). His description of the script is thus—'the characters resemble those found in the older Buddhist nail-headed inscriptions of the Gupta period, but show certain peculiarities'.
4. The test letters disclose earlier forms and the whole script brings the record in line with the Mathura inscription in Gupta letters of the year 57 (376 A.D.)⁴ and other early Gupta inscriptions. The record bears an unmistakable affinity with

¹ Vāyu, Pargiter, PT., pp. 46-47, n.s 24, 76.

² J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 287.

³ Khura, not Kura seems to be the name. See ASR., 1927-28, p. 89.

⁴ See E.I., ii; plate facing p. 209, No. 38, also *ibid.*, p. 198.

the inscriptions of the fourth century and on the whole gives the impression that it is a document of the close of the fourth century, not later.

5. The King's name and titles are—

King's name and
titles.

(L. 1) Rājā[ti]rājā-Mahārāja-Toramāṇa
Shāhi Jaū..

(L. 10) Mahārāja-Toramāṇa-Shāh[a]-
Jaūvṇah

Bühler did not read one letter between *Rājā* and *rāja* in line 1, but he considered that the blurred letter might have been 'dhi'. The facsimile, however, shows traces of 'ti,' not 'dhi.' The base of the letter is undoubtedly open, and the general form of the letter is not like 'dh' but like 't' occurring in, e.g., lines 3 and 5 (cf. *tārayitā*). *Shāhi* in line 1 is clear. The letter after 'Jau' in line 1 has become blurred, but the form of 'va' which is round throughout the inscription is clear in line 10. The other member of the ligature is read by Bühler as 'l' (*Jaūvlah*); it is really half 'n' which may be compared with the form of 'n' occurring several times in line 10. 'l' and 'n' in ligatures are apt to be confused. The form *Jaūvṇah* is genitive, because the preceding words are all in the genitive, and the succeeding words refer to the *king's* queens, princes and princesses, which necessarily makes the form *Jaūvṇah* possessive. Bühler admitted that the form required should be genitive, but owing to his own reading *Jaūvlah*, he took it to be a mistaken nominative (p. 241, n. 24). The nominative stem was taken as *Jauvan* from *Jauvā*, from which *Jaūvṇah*, also **Jauvāṇah*, **Jaunāḥ*, etc., could arise in India, and the Purāṇas very likely intended the form '*Yaunāḥ*', which they do give and which I proposed to amend as *Jauvāḥ*. It should be noted here that a secondary form *Yavana* may well be derived from *Jaūvan* in the fifth, sixth, and later centuries—of which the '*Kilikilā Yavanāḥ*' of the Vishṇu Purāṇa is probably an illustration.

Jaūvn° or *Yaunā* is to be traced in the expression *Jūnah* of Firishta, employed to denote the Kushāna king against whom the first Sassanian king marched into the Punjab (V. Smith, E.H.I., 289, n.)

On the reading *javūnah* I may cite the spelling of this word used as a proper-name on a Hun coin. Titles often became, as they do become to-day, proper-names—e.g., *Tigīna* in *Srī Shāhi Tigīna* of the Multan coin (Rapson, I.C., p. 31), ‘*Rājā*,’ etc., current to-day. The Hun coin is struck with the legend *Shāhi Javūnah* ‘of king *Javūvan*’. Here the lettering is clear and the full form of *ṇa*, with both hooked arms, is drawn. On the analogy of the Khura inscription it was read as *Javūvlah* (See Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 29, Pl. IV, fig. 10; V. Smith, J.B.A.S., 1894, p. 189), which is a mistake, as *la* in that period, earlier or later, never has two arms, while *ṇa* has them.

6. Bühler¹ rightly said that this *Toramāṇa* cannot be identified with *Toramāṇa* the Hun of the Eran inscription. On the identification, however, he said, ‘all I would say regarding him is that he ruled over north-western India and that he was an independent king..... It is also highly probable that he was not a native Indian. The name *Toramāṇa* is neither Sanskrit nor Prākṛit, but in all probability, a foreign one.’²

7. The titles ‘*Rājātirāja*’ and ‘*Shāhi*’ are regular dynastic titles of the Kushāna kings. ‘*Jauv*’ is also a Kushāna title which is known from the inscription of *Kapa* and coins. ‘*Rājātirāja*’ stands for *Shāhānushāhi*. ‘*Mahārāja*,’ the great king, is also a well-known Kushāna form. The official style in the Hun inscription (Fleet, G.I., pp. 158, 161) is entirely different.

8. Fortunately regarding this name we have another source which confirms the identification, although, even without it ‘*Rājātirāja*’ cum ‘*Shāhi*’ was sufficient to establish the identity of the dynasty.

Alberūnī (Vol. II., pp. 10–13)³ says that the dynasty was called *Shāhiyas of Kabul* who were foreigners. The last king of this dynasty was *Laga* (or *Laka*) *Tūrmān*. As to the identity of the dynasty there can be no room for doubt.

¹ And also Kielhorn, E.I., V, App. p. 72.

² I would add, it may be compared with *Rukamāṇa* in Girdharpur pillar inscription. J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 6.

³ Cf. Bühler (E.I., i, 239) who missed the identity.

For Alberūnī places Kanik in this dynasty about whom he gives a monumental reference which proves him to be no other than Kanishka of history. 'One of this series of kings was Kanik, the same who is said to have built the Vihāra (the Buddhist monastery) of Purushāvar. It is called, after him, *Kanik-Chaitya*' (p. 11). The Kanik-Chaitya at Peshawar fixes the identity of Kanik with Kanishka. The Kanishka-Chaitya and the monastery still existed at the time of Alberūnī as they existed at the time of Vīradeva of Nālandā who had been educated there in the reign of King Deva-Pāla (844-892 A.D.).¹

Alberūnī was not satisfied with the account of the dynastic successions which was given to him, for he expressly notes—'Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of kings. They are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings.' With this caution he records what he had received from some people in his enquiry. He had been told that the pedigree of the royal family written on silk existed in the fortress of Nagarkot (i.e., Kot Kāngrā) and he wanted to consult it, but unfortunately he could not go to Nagarkot, otherwise to-day we would have been in possession of some important data. All the same, we may take it that we have here a trustworthy record of four facts—(1) that the dynasty of Kanishka was called the 'Shāhi dynasty of Kabul' who were foreigners, regarded as Turks in Alberūnī's time, (2) that from the first up to the last, Afghanistan was their centre, (3) that the last king of the dynasty was Toramāna, and (4) that the most important king of the line was Kanishka, builder of the Kanishka-Chaitya (excavated by Dr. Spooner in our time). That their rule endured in the Punjab up to the time of the king named Toramāna, is evident from this narration. We may ignore the account of the origin of the foundation of the dynasty as a piece of, to put it in the words of Alberūnī, 'tale-telling'; and similarly we may also treat the manner of the ending of the dynasty (by a Brahmin minister).² In the time of Alberūnī they were treated in India

¹ Ind. Antiquary, XVII, pp. 307-12. Smith, E.H.I. (1924), p. 277.

² The dynasty of the Hindu Shāhiyas founded by 'the Brahmin'

as a Turushka family—a name commonly employed for Central Asian tribes by the Hindus, and this Alberūnī has naturally rendered as 'Turk'. But his reference to Tibet as the original home of the Shāhiyas is important, for it shows that the Hindus knew them to have come from the other side of the Himalayas (Central Asia). It may be noted here that the Hindus about Alberūnī's time regarded Bactria and Khotan as Himalayan places, in their opinion they being northern counterparts to the Indian side of the Himalayas.¹ The connection with Kabul as the first place of occupation of the Shāhis is true and is based on history.

9. It seems that the Kushāñas in the fourth century
Unity of Kushāña ruled over Bactria, Kabul, and the Punjab
dominions. from one centre which was either in the
 Punjab or in Afghanistan. The Wei-lio

'informs us that during the period of the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 221-227) Kipin, Ta-hia, Kabul, and Tien-chu were all subject to the Great Yüechi' (Chavannes' translation). Kipin here is Kapiśā, i.e., the country north of Kabul, on the way to Ta-hia which is Bactria. T'ien-chu is India, at that time only the Punjab. The Chinese description gives a connected territory, Bactria-Kabul-Punjab. This evidently continued to be the case in the time of Chandra Gupta II who finally suppressed the Kushāña power. This territorial division explains the phrase on the Mēhrauli pillar '*the seven heads of the Sindhu*', equivalent of the Persian *Hapta-Hindu*, which must include the Kabul valley² and which the conqueror, mentioned

Kallar, who adopted the 'Shāhi' ('king') title, came into existence about 875 A.D. The dynasty which existed up to the time of Alberūnī was wrongly connected by him with the earlier one, the Kabul Shāhiyas, i.e., the Kushāñas. See A.S.R., Vol. V, p. 82, for the dates of the Hindu Shāhiyas. Tūrmān to be the last scion of the family of Kanishka, could not have been supplanted by Kallar c. 875 A.D. The chronology of the local Hindus connecting the two Shāhiyas was manifestly wrong. Such mistakes are not uncommon.

¹ See my note on *Tikin* in this issue for *Barhatakin* ('Takin of Balkh'), the appellation of the first Kushāña king (Alberūnī, II, 10).

² J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 32.

on the Mehrauli pillar, crossed for defeating the Bactrians. In 360 A.D. we do find the Kushāna king Grumbates as the king of Kabul fighting the Romans on the side of the Sassanian King, evidently a relation, along with his Indian elephants and the Śakas of Seistan.¹ A generation later Rajatirāja Toramāṇa, who had an established government in western Punjab—for the inscription is by his Superintendent of Monasteries—comes on the scene. He was either the king described as ‘the Śaka emperor’ in the Devi-Chandraguptam or his next successor. Undoubtedly he was the last king of the line of Kanishka, as he is so expressly described. Alberūni’s ‘*Laga*’ is some Śakish word like ‘*Liaka*’. *Laga* Tūrmāṇ is said to have had ‘bad manners and a worse behaviour’ on account of which the people complained of him greatly to the (Brahmin) Vizir. All this reads like the character of the libidinous Śakādhipati of the Devi-Chandra-Guptam. It is said that the Brahmin ultimately occupied the throne. Probably on his defeat or assassination by Chandra-Gupta the province was given by the Gupta Emperor to a Brahmin minister, as Brahmins occupied highest political offices under the Guptas. The scholars in saying that there is no evidence of the Kushāna rule in the Punjab in the fourth century have been led to an erroneous conclusion on account of not taking note of the Khura inscription of Toramāṇa. That the Shāhi ‘emperor’ was there in the time of Samudra-Gupta is proved by the Allahabad pillar inscription.² That he continued to be there up to the time of Chandra-Gupta II and in Afghanistan is proved by the Roman account of Grumbates and the Khura inscription, and I may add, by the Mehrauli pillar as well. The Khura inscription is the last vestige of the Kushāna rule in India.

¹ V. Smith, E.H.I. (1924), p. 290. J.R.A.S., 1897, 908.

² Lines 23-24 indicate that by the submission of the *Daivaputra-Shāhi Shāhānushāhi-Saka-Murundas* the whole ‘country’ (not ‘the whole world,’ see AŚ., C. 122) was ‘united’ into one in Samudra Gupta and he was rendered ‘king of an unobstructed passage’ that is, a full territorial Emperor of India (as defined in the *Kauṭilya*, as covering the whole length of India. AŚ., Ch. 122).

IV.—A Passage in Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta Coinage.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

1. In the Allahabad pillar inscription, line 24 has a passage :

..... garutmadaṅka-svavishaya-
bhukti-śāsana-yāchan'-
-ādy-upāya-sevā-kṛita...

which has been translated by Fleet as

'by the acts of respectful service such as (*giving*) Garuḍa-tokens (*surrendering*) the enjoyment of their territories, soliciting (*his*) commands, etc....'

(p. 14)

2. Dr. Fleet took *Garutmad-anka* to refer to the Gupta coinage (p. 14, n. 3).¹

3. On *anka* as royal symbol on coins, I may refer to *Mānāṅka* and *Guṇāṅka* on the Nepal coins of King Māna and King Guṇa (J.R.A.S., 1908, 678-79; Rapson, C.I., 32), and *Nānāṅka* of the Kāśikā (p. 304 on Pāṇini IV, 3. 127).²

4. But Fleet's translation of the passage misses the real point. The kings who accepted the suzerainty of Samudra Gupta 'begged' (*yāchana-upāya*) for *śāsana* for the enjoyment (use) of the Garuḍa coin in their own provinces (*sva-vishaya-bhukti*).

5. Mr. Allan is incorrect when he observes in his Catalogue of Gupta Coins (p. xxv, n. 1) that 'Garutmadaṅka is not a coin of any kind'.¹ Except for the coins struck on special occasions, e.g., *aśvamedha*, expedition (battle-axe type with threatening legends), propounding his theory on music disputing that of

¹ For the Garuḍa figure on Samudra Gupta's coins, see Allan's Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties, p. 1 (Standard type), p. 6 (Archer type), plates I, II, IV. The figure is on a *Garuḍadhvaja*.

² I have explained *anka* and *rājāṅka* in my *Hindu Polity*, i, pp. 42-43.

Tumburu and Nārada (lyrist), the regular types of Samudra Gupta's coinage—Archer and Standard—bear the first mark Garuḍa. Like the *Nānāñka* of the Kāśikā meaning the coin bearing NANA or Nanaia (Kushāna coin), the *Garutmañdañka* means the coin bearing Garuḍa.

6. Śāsana here means a charter. Cf. *śāsanādhikāra* in the *Kautiliya*, and the word 'śāsana' on the seals of the Vākataka charters (copperplates).¹ Some of those sovereigns or sub-sovereigns who submitted personally (*ātmanivedana*) or otherwise, as an act of homage (*ādy-upāya-sevā*) applied for the use and currency of the imperial coinage in their own dominions. And for this privilege they begged for the imperial charter, śāsana.

7. Fleet is wrong in adding 'giving' and 'surrendering' in the translation of the passage. The controlling word is *yāchana*, 'begging'.

8. Amongst the group classed as *Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhā-nushāhi-Śaka-Murunda*, who were three or more according to the plural termination ('*muruṇḍaiḥ*') in the inscription (l. 23), and from whom homage (*sevā*) in the shape (*upāya*) of *ātmā-nivedana* (personal submission), *kanyopāyana-dāna*, *garutmañdañka-svavishaya-bhukti-sāsana-yāchana*, etc., was received, we find one class who did accept and use the coinage of the Gupta emperor in its territory. The dynasty called *Gadahara* or *Gadakhara* on their coins and classed amongst the *Later Great Kushāns* by V. Smith but by R. D. Banerji amongst the *Little Yue-chi*, did mint coins with the name and figure of *Samudra* on the obverse. Mr. R. D. Banerji published a paper ('Notes on Indo-Scythian Coinage') on Smith's Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1908, pp. 81–93, to which Dr. Smith referred in his *Early History* (4th Ed., p. 291 n. 2) as 'corrections' to his own paper. In his paper Mr. Banerji has observed (p. 93):—

'Cunningham has enumerated three types of *Gadahara* Coinage:

(1) *Pereya*.... (2) *Kirada*.... (3) *Samudra* :—

'The resemblance between this coin and the coin of Samudra Gupta No. 10 (Spearman type variety *a*, Cat. I, p. 102) is so great that it is possible to say that the *Gadahara* tribe at last acknowledged the suzerainty of the great conqueror and placed his name on their coins.'

¹ Fleet, G.I., pp. 236, 240, and other documents.

This seems to have been continued to the next generation. There are coins inscribed with the dynastic designation *Shaka* and *Shāka*, found in the Peshawar District (Banerji, J.A.S.B., 1894, p. 182, n.; 1897, p. 5) of the third and fourth centuries A.D. (V. Smith, C.I.M., p. 88). There are also the allied and contemporary coins of the *Sha[or, Pa]lada* title (C.I.M., pp. 88-89, J.A.S.B., 1908, p. 89). Either they belonged to the family of the Kushāṇas or were subordinate rulers under them. Both these Shākas and the Shaladas adopted the Imperial Kushāṇa coinage. The coin (No. 13356, at p. 65 of Rodgers' Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum, Part III, plate III) is evidently a Shalada coin. Rodgers read the legend as च य शालदा and rightly described it as 'allied to Gupta coins'. The figure is Hindu and of Chandra Gupta. The word *Chandra* is inscribed by the effigy as on Gupta coins. We clearly get one Śaka or Shāka dynasty at Peshawar, apart from one in the Western Satraps. On the coin of Pa. Shāka (J.B.A.S., 1897, p. 5; C.I.M., p. 89) we have 'Shalada' or 'Plada'. It seems that the Shaladas, who have few coins, were identical with the Shakas.¹

The Shalada-Shakas seem to have adopted the Gupta coinage like the Gadaharas.

The Gadahara ruler who adopted Samudra Gupta's name and figure on his coin belonged to the Little Yü-chi clan, allied to the Great Yü-chi or the Imperial Kushāṇas. The Gadaharas have on their coins *kshuna* and so have the Kidāra-Kushāṇas who put down on their coins *Kida*, and *Kasha*, as abbreviations (J.B.A.S., 1908, p. 92). The word *Kshuna* (cf. Prakrit *Kshulla*), in my opinion, represents 'Little', a translation of the original which was rendered by the Chinese as 'Little' Yü-chi. *Gadahara* or *Gadakhara* (with *kshuna*) seems to stand for Little Yü-ti. There seems to be an abbreviation

¹ The former numismatic view was that these princes were 'Later Great Kushāṇas', but owing to the differing theories on the Kushāṇa origins, they have been kept separate. I have no doubt that they are Kushāṇa.

of *Shaka* (as *Sha.*) after 'Gadahara' on the coin of Peraya (J.A.S.B., 1897, p. 4).

Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhanushāhi representing the Imperial Kushāna, 'the Daivaputra-Shāhi-emperor' (probably distinguishing him from the Sassanian emperor), 'the Śaka lords' (*Śaka-muruṇḍāḥ*) were the smaller Śaka rulers like the Shalada Śāka, the Gadahara and the Western Satrap. The latter was confined to Kachh and Lower Sindh. The Abhiras, the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas who came under Samudra Gupta reduce the Western Satrap to a narrow strip as indicated. The Abhiras represented Kathiawad-Gujerat. There was no room for the Western Satrap to reach Malwa which was under autonomous communities and not under the Satrap. From Kachh to Sindh, Baluchistan, Sistan and Gandhāra, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Bactria—all a connected territory—was under the Shāhanushāhi along with his subordinates. In the Punjab they were bounded by the Madrakas and the Yaudheyas backed by the direct rule of the Gupta emperor. Only the valley of the Indus and part of the Chenab were under the Kushāna 'emperor'.¹ Gandhāra and Kashmir¹ seem to have been under his relations with ruling powers, who never describe themselves as kings on their coins. The acceptance of the Gupta currency by the Gandhāra Śakas transferred them from the Shāhanushāhi to the Gupta emperor.

9. Samudra Gupta was very particular about his imperial coinage. The Ārjunāyanas, the Mālavas, the Yaudheyas, and the Nāga kings all cease minting their coins in his reign. He allowed the privilege of possessing their own mints to the Gandhāra Śakas and the Little Yü-chi rulers but instead of their coins wearing any Kushāna imperial signs they had to bear the Imperial Gupta marks.²

10. It seems that for the Indian possessions under his direct rule the Shāhanushāhi rendered personal submission,

¹ Cf. सिमुतट-दावीकोर्वी-चन्द्रभागा-काश्मीर-विष्णवान् ब्रात्या स्तेच्छादयः पूर्णा भौद्धनि—Vishnu Purāna, which corresponds to the Bhāgavata which adds *Kauntī* (Kachh). The Purānic data here refer to the Early Gupta Period.

² The Western Satrap seems to have retained his coinage.

confirming it by some marriage alliance (giving of *kanyā*). Samudra Gupta thus completed his empire up to the natural frontiers of India, as described in the Mānavadharmaśāstra.

11. The legends on the *Garutmadanika* coins of Samudra Gupta (the Standard and the Archer types) show that they were the normal coins, settled upon in and for peace times when he could count and give the number of the battles fought for making the empire or, to quote his own words, for uniting the whole country [‘*dharanī-bandhasya*’].

V.—The Kākas—their Location.

The Kākas, an autonomous community mentioned in Samudra Gupta's inscription on the Allahabad pillar (line 22; Fleet, G.I., pp. 8, 14) have remained unidentified. They are placed in the inscription next to the Sanakānikas. At Udayagiri, we have in the inscription of the year 82 (Gupta Era) a Sanakānika governor, evidently hereditary, with the title of *Mahārāja* extending over three generations. He is taken by Fleet to be the local feudatory ruler. The Kākas and Sanakānikas are placed as neighbours by V. Smith in his map of the Gupta Empire [E.H.I.], though his location could not be accurate.

It is evident that the two political communities mentioned above were in Eastern Malwa. The Sanakānikas must have been near Bhilsa. The Sanakānika Mahārāja excavated the cave-temple called Chandra Gupta Temple and the Varāha panel sculptures and other sculptures at the cave. As to their exact home we have yet no information. But regarding the Kākas we seem to be on firmer grounds.

In Eastern Malwa we have two place-names of ancient character bearing on the Kākas. One is the name of the hill now called Sanchi hill. Its name in the inscriptions on the site is *Kāka-nāda* (F.G.I., p. 31). It means 'the Praise of the Kākas'. Still more important is the large and ancient village called *Kāka-pur*, some 20 miles north of Bhilsa, hitherto unnoticed. I found this place on my journey from Eran to Bhilsa by the new metalled road of the Gwalior State running from Isāgarh via Sironj to Bhilsā, which was under construction when I passed on it last December. Kākapur is situated on a river, and a hill opposite the village by the road has two square temples and a few Gupta sculptures. A large number of pillars and Sati memorials cover the plain in front of the temple-hill. Mediæval inscriptions are also in evidence. They with the temples testify to the continued importance of the place from the Gupta to the Mediæval period.

I propose to identify Kākapur as the ancient seat of the Kākas. There were two routes from Bundelkhand to Bhilsa or its ancient representative Vidiśā, one was via Rāhatgarh (Dist. Sagar) and Gyaraspur and the other via Eran and Kākapur. On both these routes I have travelled; both are strewn with ancient monuments.

K. P. J.

VI.—An Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District.

By Sudhakar Patnaik, B.A.

Of the limited few copperplates and other inscriptions in the Oriya language and character so far discovered no less than two belong to the Sambalpur District. And the one under notice is one of them, the other being the inscription on the temple of Narsingnāth in the Gandhamārdan mount in the Borāsambar Zemindary of that district.

The inscription under notice is a deed of gift of village Baragarh in the Subdivision of that name in the district of Sambalpur granted muafi-rent free, during the Hindu period by Mahārāj Nārāyan Singh, the last Rājāh of Sambalpur, to Nārāyan Dās and Krushna Dās, two brothers, who were the gountiās (village headmen in Sambalpur having the status of a semi-landlord) of Baragarh village in recognition of the services rendered to the state by them as well as by their father Bāluki Dās who (Bāluki Dās) was assassinated while serving the raj, by the rebels in the Gond rising during the reign of Mahārāj Nārāyan Singh.

This copperplate is the property of Babu Mitrabhānu Dās, one of the descendants of the donees, now residing at villages Baragarh and Tālsrigirā. The size of the plate is $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. At the middle of the top side there is a projection having a hole in it for letting in a string for purposes of hanging. The plate has been so inscribed that the top side of the obverse is the foot side of the reverse. The inscription consists of 25 lines, 16 on the obverse and 9 on the reverse, and each letter is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " square. The deed commences with a *wheel*¹ at the top.

The plate is clearly dated. It was granted on a third day of the week, i.e., on a Tuesday which was a Saptami in the bright fortnight in the month of Mārgasir, in the Sambat year

¹ Sign Purnokumbho.

of 1901. Bikram Sambat has general currency in Sambalpur and hence the gift was obviously made some time in November-December¹ in the year 1844 A.D. This is also corroborated by the Sambalpur Gazetteer according to which Mahārāj Nārāyan Singh reigned in Sambalpur from 1833 to 1849.

As already said the village of Baragarh was granted to brothers Nārāyan Dās and Krushna Dās in recognition of the services rendered to the state by themselves and their father Bāluki Dās. The following is a short account of the family and of the Gond rising in which Bāluki Dās was killed by the Gonds.

One Mādhav Dās of Kausik Gotra, originally a resident of Śrirāmchandrapur Sāson near Puri, emigrated to Binkā which was then as now a flourishing town in the Sonepur State. His eldest son Sambhu Dās shifted from Binkā to village Kalāpāni near Baragarh in Sambalpur. Bāluki Dās was the only issue of Sambhu Dās. Mahārāj Sāi was then reigning in Sambalpur. Bāluki Dās, it is said, was a very strong man with an imposing appearance. About this time the Mahrattas used to make frequent raids on Sambalpur and during one such raids they caught hold of Bāluki Dās as he offered resistance to them and removed him to the district of Chandā in C.P. and employed him as a keeper of buffaloes. Some years after when the Mahratta power was waning Bāluki Dās managed to run away to Sambalpur with about 1,000 buffaloes of which he made a gift to the Rājāh. He was in return granted a small village named Malmandā. About this time in 1827 Mahārāj Sāi died and there was trouble in the state. Some time after Mahārāj Nārāyan Singh ascended to the throne of Sambalpur and it is said Bāluki Dās had no small hand in the matter. However

¹ Possibly 17th December. Although it appears saptami had already expired on the previous day, I hold it to be the 17th because it is generally found that among the calendars (*Panjikas*) current in this part prepared by local astronomers from year to year no two agree in their calculations. And so I hold according to the Panjika used it was, rightly or wrongly, saptami on the 17th December, 1844 A.D. This is all the more strengthened by the fact that although a *Tithi* (तिथि) might be wrong depending as it does on the calculations of an astronomer, the man in the street even, cannot commit a mistake as to the simple fact of the day of the week, 17th December, 1844, being Tuesday.

Surendra Sāi and other pretenders continued to create troubles by instigating the Gonds and Binjhāls and other aborigines. Bāluki Dās was however of great help to Nārāyan Singh at this time in trying to quell the rebellion. Bāluki Dās had then retained a force of 300 at his own cost. He assassinated the influential Gond Chief of Páhár Śrigirá and built a high Machān at village Katápáli which was called the *Gondamārdan Bhádi* (a machān to suppress the Gonds). As reward for services rendered to the state he was granted by the Rājāh of Sambalpur 96 Gond villages one after another, such as Bárāpali, Tálśrigirá, Torá, Kolundá, Degán, Bichhuán, and others. About this time one night the Gonds made a sudden attack on the house of Bāluki Dās at village Torá, burnt it and assassinated him there. Village Baragarh was then granted by the Rajah to the two sons of Bāluki Dās as already said.

As to the then condition of the state we get the following authentic account from the Sambalpur Gazetteer.—

'Maharaj Sai died in 1827 and his widow Rani Mohan Kumari was allowed to succeed. Disturbances immediately broke out, and for some years there was constant internecine strife between the recognised ruler and the pretenders to the Chiefship. The most prominent of the latter was Surendra Sai, who claimed Chiefship as being descended from Madhukar Sai, the fourth Rajah of Sambalpur. He was readily supported by the discontented Gond and Binjal Zemindars who found their privilege threatened and their lands encroached on by Hindu favourites of the Rani. Villages were plundered to within a few miles of Sambalpur and though Lieutenant Higgins, with a body of Ramgarh battalion which was stationed within the fort drove off the insurgents matters became so serious that it became necessary to march a force from Hazaribagh to put an end to the disturbances. This force was commanded by Captain Wilkinson, who after hanging several of the rebels, came to the conclusion that there would be endless troubles so long as the Rani remained in power. He accordingly deposed her and set up Narayan Singh, a descendant of Bikram Singh, the eldest son of Rajah Baliaj Singh, who had hitherto been considered not qualified to hold the Raj owing to his mother being of

inferior caste. * * * * * Mohan Kumari was sent off to Cuttack, the Government troops were withdrawn and Narayan Singh was left to manage his newly acquired principality as well as he could.

Rebellion broke out at once, the Gonds rising under Balabhadra D^āo, a Gond Zemindar of Lakhnupur, and it was a long time before the rebellion could be put down as the insurgents always found shelter in the vast range of hills known as the Bārapāhār. Balabhadra D^āo, was, however, at last slain at Debrigarh, the highest point of the hills and a noted rebel stronghold. An even more serious disturbance followed in 1839 chiefly due to Surendra Sai, who looked upon Narayan Singh as an usurper, and as already mentioned, claimed the throne on the ground of his descent from the fourth Rajah of Sambalpur. In 1840, he and his brother Udwant Sai, with their uncle Balaram Singh, murdered in cold blood the son and father of Daryao Singh, Zemindar of Rampur. Upon this the three were arrested, and sent to the Jail at Hazaribagh as life prisoner.

Narayan Singh died in 1849, and his widow Rani Mukhyapan Devi, assumed the reins of Government but as he had died without male issues, the country was annexed by the British. This decision was taken in pursuance of Lord Dalhousie's well-known doctrine of Lapse, but the case of Sambalpur was different from that of other states, for no adoption had ever been proposed, and the last Rajah had during his life time expressly intimated his wish that the British Government should take possession of his principality and provide for his Ranis.' (Sambalpur Gazetteer, pp. 26-28.)

Some further information is obtained from the accounts of Lieutenant Kittoe of his journey through the forests of Orissa published in J.A.S.B., May, 1839, as quoted below:—

'The town of Sambalpur extends for upwards of 2 miles along the proper left bank of the river (The Mahanadi); of this space the fort occupies about 3 quarters of a mile. It is fast falling to ruin, the Rajah no longer resides in the old Noor (citadel, palace), which is occupied by some of his officers;

there is a miserable garrison of a few ragamuffins dressed as sepahis and some 20 or 30 sowars whose steeds are like pharaoh's lean kine. The walls are in a very dilapidated state, having suffered much from the effect of the extraordinary flood of 1836. The bamboo thicket which was cut down during the time the territory was in our possession used to act as a breakwater and protected the walls which are very ill-constructed of unhewn stones. The ditch and swamp which defended the other three faces, are in a great measure filled up and over-grown with weeds and must render that quarter of the town very unhealthy. There is no appearance of any trade being carried on, nor is there so much as the site of such a large and populous place would lead you to suppose. Merchants concentrate here from Cuttack, Budree (Boad?) Nagpur, Bhopal, Chhattisgarh, Sirgooga, and barter their goods. Those of the lower provinces bringing salt, cocoanuts, cotton, cloth, spices, brass utensils, etc., exchanging the same with those of the country for wheat, gram, lac and cotton. Gold in small lumps is also taken in payment and occasionally diamonds. The only produce of the province employed consists of oil seeds, cotton, and rice which are taken by bullocks and (during rains) sent by water to the Mogulbandi of Orissa'.

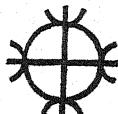
' Lieutenant Kittoe adds an instructive instance of the methods of justice, saying "I was somewhat surprised one morning while taking my ride to see three human heads stuck on a pole at the junction of two roads near the town; their owner having forfeited them for treason though not without a protracted and severe struggle". As he visited Sambalpur in May, 1838, these heads had been exposed for 4 months.' (Sambalpur Gazetteer, p. 29.)

At such a time it was no wonder that Bāluki Dās killed the rebel Zemindar of Páhár Šrigirá or that he himself was slain by them.

The grant has by now been half resumed and will in course of time be fully resumed.

I now give below the full text of the grant:—

Obverse.



1. सर्वो श्रीमा^१हाराज(१)धिराज श्रीश्रीमा^१हाराजा
2. श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीनारायण सिंह देव श्रीमा^१
3. हाराजाङ्कर ॥ नारायण दास गडटी
4. आच्यो द्वाषा दास गडटीच्या मध्य दूङ
5. भाईङ्कु ॥ सिरकटा तम्बा पटा पचदि
6. आगला कौ तुम्हे हजूरर खैरखा
7. हौ नेकनामि खिजीमतौ हरिएकत्व
8. उरे वजाइवारुकरि ओ तुम्हर वा
9. प वाळकी दास मध्य हजूरर नीम
10. करे सिरकाटे जौवारुकरि तुम्ह
11. कु वमदे नजर मौउजे वडगड
12. रकतपटा करि खैररात दीआग
13. ला ॥ ओ तुम्हकु झकुम दीआ जाउळ्हि कौ
14. तुम्हे ए गां ओ वजार मालगुजार
15. कर कउडै सजल स्थल नीधिनी
16. खात काळ पासाण गळ माळ व्हा

Reverse.

17. या उपक्षाया सहीते आसीमान्त क
18. हि जावत्त^२ चन्द्रकरे भस्मान्तिके
19. तावत्त^३ श्रासन घृतौ प्रमाणरे भो
20. ग करिव ॥ श्रीसरकारर खैरखा
21. ने क खिजमतरे पुस्त दशपुस्तरे हाज
22. र धिव ॥ स्वदत्तं प्रदत्तं वा जो हरे वै वसु
23. न्वरा ॥ सष्ठिवर्ष्णं सहश्राणि बौद्धा
24. यां जायते छमी ल ॥ मौतौ मार्गशी
25. शु उळ वार स्वत १६०१ साल । सही

¹ Read महा.

² Read यावत्.

³ Read तावत्.

Translation.

May Mahārājādhirāj Nārāyan Singh Dev reign in peace. The Mouza of Baragarh is granted rent-free by *Raktapata* to Nārāyan Dās and his brother Krushna Dās Gountiās on account of the various services rendered by you (the donees) to the state and on account of your father Bāluki Dās having been beheaded while also rendering such service, by this *Sirakatā* (beheadment) copperplate grant with the direction that you will enjoy the rent together with all other kinds of usufruct of this village consisting of produce from land, from water, from mines, from forests, from fishery and so on, so long as there exist the Sun and the Moon and so long as (the world is not) turned into ashes, by the strength of this grant and you for generations will remain loyal.

Whoever takes away from a donee some lands gifted by himself or by somebody else is doomed to be born as a worm in the stool for sixty thousand years.

The 3rd day of the week (Tuesday), the 7th day of the bright fortnight in the Sambat year 1901. Signed.

NOTES.

1-5. सिरकटा तम्बापटा—Copperplate granted on account of the beheadment (of the father of the donees).

1-12. रक्तपटा करि—Besmearing the deed of gift with the blood (of the father of the donees) ? In return for the blood of the father of the donees ? or written with the blood (of the father of the donees).

From the inscription it will appear that although Sambalpur is situated on the border of the Hindi-speaking Central Provinces, the Oriya language and script had a strong hold there from a very remote period. It will appear such letters as श्री, क, च, ज have been incised in what is known as the Karani script of the Oriya alphabets. The language and phraseology of the deed are also peculiar to Oriya, and also the use of the letter ए at the end of the text.



AN ORIYA COPPER PLATE OF THE SAMBALPUR DISTRICT.



AN ORIYA COPIER PLATE OF THE SAMBALPUR DISTRICT.



There are a number of spelling mistakes as would naturally be the case. There is very little difference in the shape of आकार and दीर्घिकार both having been incised almost similar to the present day यफला in Oriya which is the common form of these *mátrás* (आकार and दीर्घिकार), more particularly of आकार, as used even to-day by the old orthodox school of Oriya Scribes while writing on a palm leaf with the iron *lekhani* and although from the appearance one may at the first sight mistake them for यफला they are not actually that.

VII.—Note on an Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District.

By G. Ramadas, B.A.

The language of the grant is Oriya; but the verse ll. 22-24 is Sanskrit; and the following are Urdu ll. 6 and 9 छजूर; l. 6 खेरखाजी; नेकनामि; खिजीमतीहार; l. 11 वमहे नजर; मउजे; l. 12 खेरात; l. 13 छकुम्; l. 20 सर्कार; रखेरखा; l. 21 नेक्खिजीमत्; पुस्त्रपुस्तरे चाजर.

Orthography:—The letters are all modern Oriya; but the following are Korni Characters:—କ and ଜ and ହ all through. The long ‘ା’ is represented by a vertical line all through; but in l. 23 ଚହୁଆଣି the ା sign has a ‘u’ shaped curve at the top to the left, such sign represents the ‘ya’ in combination with a consonant. The other mistakes are corrected by means of footnotes to the text.

The date of the grant is given in ll. 24-25 as ମିତି ମାର୍ଗଶୀ ଶୁଷ୍ଠି ବାର ଦିନ ୧୯୦୧ ଶାଲ୍ମ। i.e., Tuesday, the 7th tithi of the bright half of Margasira in the Samvat year 1901. This date when verified comes to this.

The 7th tithi of the bright half of Margasira of the Samvat year 1901 fell on 15th December, 1844 A.D., but it was Monday and the tithi ended at 34 gh, 12 v. gh (Lanka time) after Sunrise. The same tithi of the same month of the Samvat year 1900 fell on 28th November, 1843 A.D., and it was Tuesday and the tithi ended at 23 gh, 24 v. gh (Lanka time) after Sunrise. Perhaps the Samvat year given in the grant was meant for the current year.

The top sign, perhaps the crest of the family.

TEXT.

Obverse.

1. खल्ल[॥] श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीमहाराज।
2. श्रीश्रीश्रीश्री नारायणसिङ्ग देव श्रीमा-
3. हाराजङ्गर ॥ नारायणदास गाउच

4. आओ छण्डास गउच्छ आमथ दुइ
5. भाइङ् । सिरकच्छ तमापच्चपच दि-
6. आगला कि तुम्हे हजूरर खैरखा-
7. हौ नेकनामि खिजौमतिहर एकत्र
8. उरे बजाइबारकरि उ तुम्हर बा-
9. प बालकिदास मध्य हजूरर नौम-
10. करे सिरकाटे जौबारकरि तुम्ह
11. झु वसदेनजर मोउजे बड़गड़
12. रक्तपच्छकरि खइरात दिव्या जाउच्छि कि
13. ला ॥ ओ तुम्हकु झकम दिव्या जाउच्छि कि
14. तुम्हे ए गाँ ओ बजारमाला गुजार
15. कर कउडौ[**] सजलस्थलनिधिनि
16. खात काष्ठपाषाण गच्छ माच्छच्छा-

Reverse.

17. या उपच्छाया सहिते आसीमान्त क-
18. हि जावत्त चक्रार्करे भस्त्राल्लिके
19. तावत्त प्रासन वृत्तौप्रमाणरे भो-
20. ग करिब ॥ खदत्तं परदत्तं वा जोहरे वे वसु
21. न्द्रा सष्ठिवर्ध¹ सहस्राणि वौद्या
22. यां जायते छमौः ॥ मौतौ मार्गश्चौ
23. शु ताइ बार स्त्रत १६०१ साल ॥ सहौ

Translation.

II. 1-3. Hail! The assent (l. 25 Sahi) of Sri, Sri, Mahā-rājādhīrāja Sri, Sri, Maharaja Sri Sri Sri Nārāyana Singha Deva, Mahārāja. (ll. 3-6), the deed written on copperplate (in acknowledgment) of giving the head is given to the two brothers Narayanadas Gautya and Krishnadas Gautya. (ll. 6-8), you have been dependent on (खैरखाद्वौ), faithful (नेकनामि), (and) dutiful (खिजौमतिहर) to the state (हजूर); you struck

¹ Read षष्ठि वर्ध

(the enemy) on the chest. (ll. 8-13), and your father Balukidas too, being faithful to the state gave up his life by having his head cut off (by the enemy). (So) to you is given the bloody deed (रक्तपटा) (for) Bodogodo belonging to the region already in your enjoyment. We now give this permission (ज्ञान). (ll. 14-15) you may collect fees from this village and its market.

- ll. 15-20. You shall enjoy, on the authority of this gift (शासनदत्ती प्रसार) the whole land including the water and land, mines and wells, timber and stone, trees and fish, shade and shadow within the boundaries, until the moon and the sun are turned to ashes.
- ll. 20-22. You fool! whoever robs his own or other's gift of land shall be born as a worm in the muck for six thousand years.
- ll. 22-23. Date (सौती) Margasira su. 7, 3rd (day of the) week, the Samvat year 1901.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—A Note on 'Tikina' and 'Khasa'.

Tikina. On this title (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII, p. 4) the title *Shāhi-Tigina* on the coin given by Cunningham in *A.S.R.*, Vol. V, plate XXXVII, and his opinion connecting it with the *Tagina* in the names of the Slave Kings and the meaning 'valiant' (*A.S.R.*, V. 121-122) may be consulted. See also *Barhatakin*, the Kabul name of Kanishka's ancestor (Alberuni, II, 10). *Barha-Takin* means the *Takin* (Ruler) of *Varha* (Parthian pronunciation of *Balkh*, Bactria).

Khasa. *Khasa* in *Khasādhipati* in the verse cited by Rājaśekhara (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII, p. 20) might have referred to the fact that the ruler intended was the ruler of or arising from Kashgarh (Central Asia), a description of the *Kushāṇas*.

K. P. J.

II.—Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E.

(*b.* 6th December, 1852—*d.* 17th November, 1931.)

The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri, one of our honorary members and one of the practical founders of our Society, will be long remembered as the founder of a school of Indologists in Eastern India. I give below a biography of that great scholar.

When the Rajas of Naldanga in Jessoré were rising to a leading position in Bengal, they selected Rājendra Vidyālānkāra as their Sabhā Pandit in preference to such eminent men as Vasudeva Sārvabhauma, Raghunandana, Vidyānivāsa, and others who were the Raja's next of kin. In the family of Rājendra Vidyālānkāra was born Māṇikya Chandra Tarkabhbūṣana who was fourth in descent. He settled at Naihati about 1760 A.D. and soon became a rival of Jagannātha Tarkapāñchānana whose influence with the East India Company and the Rajas of the time was very great. Māṇikya Chandra's opinion on matters of Hindu Law were treated with great respect by Sir William Jones, the Sanskritist Judge of the Supreme Court. Māṇikya's grandson Rāmakamala Nyāyaratna was one of the foremost Naiyāyikas of his time. Mr. Ramaprasad Roy, the first Indian Judge of the Calcutta High Court and son of Raja Rammohan Roy, describes the family of Rāmakamala in the following terms: 'Nearly half the celebrities of the land are disciples of this family and no congregation of Pandits is said to be complete without the presence of his (Nanda Kumar Nyāyachufchu's) father', [i.e., Rāmakamala Nyāyaratna, the father of Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri]. It is said that for sixteen generations an unbroken tradition of high Sanskrit scholarship was maintained in this family, most of them being professors of Navyanyāya'.

In this family Haraprasad was born on 6th December, 1852, and from his very childhood showed promise. In the beginning

he was sent to a Tol near by. With a view to learn English he came to Calcutta and sought the help of Īśvara Chandra Vidyāsāgara. Pandit Īśvara Chandra was struck by the intelligence of young Haraprasad and made all arrangements for giving him education. His pecuniary help was subsequently found to be unnecessary as Haraprasad was able to obtain enough for himself by way of scholarships. He passed all his examinations of the Calcutta University with great distinction up to his M.A. degree, winning the title of *Śāstri*.

In February, 1878, he entered Government Service as Head Pandit of the Hare School. In September of the same year, he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the Canning College, Lucknow, where he served for thirteen months. In January, 1883, he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit Literature in the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta. In September of the same year, he was transferred to the Bengali Translators' Office as Assistant Translator. In January, 1886, he was appointed Librarian of the Bengal Library, an office which he held for eight years; his annual reports were highly appreciated by Sir Alfred Croft, the then Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. In February, 1894, his services were transferred to the Presidency College, Calcutta, as Senior Professor of Sanskrit. In December, 1900, he was appointed Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and Registrar of Sanskrit Examinations in Bengal. He retired from Government Service in November, 1908. But Government put him on the day of his retirement in charge of a Bureau of Information for the benefit of Civil Officers in Bengal, in history, religion, customs and folklore, an office which he held till the last day of his life. In 1922, when the Dacca University started working, Shastri was invited to organise the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali. He remained there as Professor for three years and during this period in addition to his ordinary duties read many original papers and gave an impetus to the students of East Bengal to carry on original research. He was honoured there by an honorary degree of doctorate.

Shastri had been a great factor in the rise of modern scholarship in Calcutta. The famous R. D. Banerji, Mr. Nilmani

Chakravarti, Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, and a number of notable scholars have been his direct contribution to the cause of Indology.

In 1903, he was appointed a member of a Commission to report on the Bodh Gaya Temple dispute along with Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra; the report submitted elicited highest encomium from the then Lieutenant Governor Mr. J. A. Bourdillon who called it 'a monument of learning, assiduity, and impartiality'. In 1911, Shastri was appointed a member of the Conference of Orientalists held at Simla to which he submitted many notes, most of which were accepted by the Conference. It was there that he advocated knowledge of English in Sanskrit scholars. He often used to tell me: 'English (i.e., modern knowledge) makes a scholar awake, while Sanskrit alone makes one blind'. In 1908, Shastri with Professor A. A. Macdonell of Oxford collected rare Vedic manuscripts for the Max Muller Memorial at Oxford. He also collected nearly 7,000 MSS. which the Maharajadhiraja of Nepal presented to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Lord Curzon in an autograph letter thanked him thus: 'I should like both as a former Viceroy and Chancellor of the University to send you a most sincere line of thanks for the great service which your erudition, good will, and indefatigable exertion have enabled you to render to us'.

In 1912, Shastri at the request of Sir John Marshall purchased for the Archaeological Department a collection of MSS., which after an examination of three years proved to be one of the largest, containing nearly twelve thousand manuscripts. The Vedic MSS. in this Collection are very valuable.

Shastri's early association with Raja Rajendralal Mitra was of great use in developing his own scholarship. In 1878, Dr. Rajendralal Mitra asked Pandit Haraprasad to translate the *Gopālatapanīya Upaniṣad* into English and sought his assistance in the preparation of his monumental work entitled the *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*. The assistance rendered by Shastri was acknowledged in the Preface of that work by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra:..... 'during a protracted attack of illness, I felt the want of help and a friend of mine,

Babu Haraprasad Śāstri, M.A., offered his co-operation and translated the abstract of 16 of the large works. His initials have been attached to the names of those works in the table of contents. I feel deeply obliged to him for the timely aid he rendered me and tender him my cordial acknowledgments for it. His thorough mastery of the Sanskrit language and knowledge of European literature fully qualified him for the task and he did his work to my entire satisfaction.'

In 1885, Shastri was elected a member of the Asiatic Society; he was at once put on the Philological Committee and was placed in charge of the *Bibliotheca Indica* Publications. He held this office for 22 years and had to revise the last proofs of all non-resident editors. He left it in 1906 when he was appointed Vice-President of the Society for life. Shastri was elected President of the Asiatic Society in 1920 and thus realised his ambition of occupying the Chair once adorned by the illustrious Sir William Jones, the Founder of that Society.

In July, 1891, on the death of Raja Rajendralal Mitra he was made the Director of the operations in search of Sanskrit MSS., an appointment which he held till the end of his life. In this capacity he collected 8,000 select MSS., submitted six long and learned reports and published eight volumes of Notices of Sanskrit MSS., two of which contain catalogues of Palm-leaf and Paper MSS. in the Durbar Library, Nepal. His reports and notices have always been well received by Oriental scholars of Europe and India and they have been and will be often referred to by scholars. After his retirement from Government Service the Council of the Asiatic Society requested him to undertake a Descriptive Catalogue of the entire collection consisting of 11,000 MSS. The collection was catalogued by him, and the publication of the Catalogue kept him busy till his death. He could publish six sumptuous volumes on Buddhist, Vedic, Smṛiti, History and Geography, Vyākaraṇa and Alāṅkāra and Purāṇa MSS. before his death. The seventh volume dealing with Sāhitya MSS. was also in print in November, 1931, and at the time of his death he was engaged in writing an exhaustive introduction to this volume. It appears from his Introduction to the 6th volume that he could foresee that his

end was near and that he would not live to complete the subsequent volumes, a fear he mentioned to me when I saw him last some months before his death.

In 1909, the Council of the Asiatic Society asked him to undertake on behalf of the Government of India to report on the Bardic MSS. in Rajputana and to formulate a practical scheme for their collection and preservation. This work took four years during which he submitted four annual progress reports, which contain many new and interesting discoveries in the political, social, religious and literary history of Rajputana. In his capacity as the officer in charge of the operations in search of Sanskrit and Bardic MSS. he had to make long tours in Rajputana, Malwa, Nepal, Orissa, Benares and Bihar.

Shastri was a good writer of Bengali. While he was in the B.A. Class the Maharaja of Indore paid a visit to the Sanskrit College and offered a prize to the best writer of an essay on the highest ideal of woman's character as set forth in ancient Sanskrit writers, in Bengali. The prize was won by Haraprasad, his essay is still regarded as a standard work on the subject. '*Bhārata Mahilā*' attracted the attention of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and he published it in his magazine the *Vaṅgadarśana*.

His most interesting work in Bengali is the *Vālmīkīr Jaya* or the 'Triumph of Valmiki', a poem in prose, the central idea of which is the triumph of moral over physical and intellectual power. Regarding its author, Bankim Chandra has said : 'The course of imagination of this young writer is like the strides of a proud and haughty lion'. On an English translation of this work the Shakespearean critic, Professor Dowden remarked : 'It will extend the horizon of Western imagination'.

Another work published in the *Vaṅgadarśana* is the *Kāñchanamālā*, a historical novel dealing with the reign of Aśoka, which when it appeared in the *Vaṅgadarśana* Sir Ramesh Chandra Mitra took to be the best work of Bankim Chandra, as the author's name was not attached to it. His next Bengali work is *Bhāratavarṣher Itihāsa* which for the first time contained a connected and comprehensive historical account of the Hindu Period. He also prepared an edition of the *Kirtilatā* of

Vidyāpati. He wrote regularly in the *Nārāyaṇa*, a Bengali magazine, in which he published his criticisms on Kālidāsa and popular articles on Buddhism.

The most remarkable contribution towards the study of Bengali literature is his edition of the *Bauddha Gāna O Dohā* consisting of the *Caryācaryaviniścaya*, and the two Dohākoṣas of Sarojavajra and Advayavajra, representing the earliest specimens of the eastern or proto-Bengali language so far available. The Dohās were accompanied with ancient commentaries in Sanskrit, and the earliest among them may belong to a period much before the 11th century. The manuscripts of the three works were discovered by him in the Durbar and private libraries in Nepal.

Shastri published the *Svayambhū Purāṇa*, the only Buddhist Purāṇa ever written. It is a history of Nepalese Buddhism giving also a detailed topography of all holy places in that country, especially of the Svayambhū Kṣettra, the greatest place of pilgrimage of the Northern Buddhists.

His *Six Tracts of Buddhist Nyāya* are works on Buddhist Logic and Philosophy of the later Buddhist world, throwing a flood of light on such abstruse topics as Antarvyāpti or inference without example, on the transitoriness of the phenomenal world, on the latent meanings of words, and so on, which but for his interest in them would have remained absolutely unknown.

Rudra Chandra Deva, one of the Rajas of Kumaon, a contemporary of Akbar, wrote a work on Falconry entitled *Śyainika Śāstra* which Shastriji edited for the Bibliotheca Indica and translated into English. Lord Curzon was much interested in this work and called it 'an extremely interesting book'. Shastriji also translated into English the *Gautama Sūtras* on the Nyāya System of Philosophy, without the help of a commentary, from the words of the Sūtra, but did not publish it. The publication of the fragments of the *Chatuh śatikā* of Āryadeva was perhaps the most difficult task Shastri had to perform. Out of about 100 leaves only twenty-three reached his hands, with the original leaf-marks carefully obliterated, and it took him years of study to locate these leaves into their

proper chapters, before finally publishing the same in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the Durbar Library of Nepal, Shastri discovered an unknown *mahākāvya* entitled *Saundarananda* which proved to be by no less a poet and philosopher than *Aśvaghoṣa*, the Guru of *Kaniṣka*. It was a twin to his *Buddhacarita*. It was unknown even in China and Tibet, though in Hindu and Jain literature occasional quotations from it were found. This was also published by him in the *Bibliotheca Indica* with the necessary critical apparatus.

The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandi is also a discovery of Shastri. It is the only historical work in Sanskrit concerning Eastern India yet discovered. The task of editing it was extremely difficult as it was throughout in double entendre—giving the history of Rāmāpāla, king of Bengal on the one hand, and the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the other. Fortunately, a canto and a half out of four cantos were accompanied by an excellent commentary supposed to be by the author himself.

In 1899, Shastri made the startling discovery that in Bengal nearly a third of the Hindu population are still Buddhists without knowing that they are so. These people worship a deity named Dharma, which is no other than the second deity of the Buddhist Triad. The worship is conducted by non-Brahmins and the Mantras are full of Buddhist ideas. This discovery was greatly appreciated by scholars. Shastri published a pamphlet entitled 'Discovery of living Buddhism in Bengal' on the subject. He also discovered a remnant of the Zoroastrian fire-worship still existing in a corner of Rajputana (Osia). It is the worship of a lamp, fed with ghee, which has been kept burning by a body of monks for centuries.

In his paper entitled 'Who were the Śūṅgas' he announced the discovery that the Śūṅgas who destroyed the Maurya empire, were Brahmins professing the Śāma-veda who were greatly discontented by Aśoka's prohibition of all animal sacrifices.

In 1928, June, before he went to Lahore to preside over the 5th Session of the Oriental Conference he met with an accident and sustained a fracture of the femur bone in the right leg, and this was soon found to be incurable. This

crippled him a great deal and he became confined mostly to his house. Even this the Mahāmahopādhyāya took very cheerfully and he used to say humorously that he got this punishment for his useless movements and staying out of his legitimate work, that is his cataloguing.

After that accident he had been working very strenuously at home daily, carefully dividing his time for the different types of work he had in hand. He worked at times for 16 or 17 hours per day. On the day of his death (17th November, 1931) he had worked for 17 hours, he felt tired, took his meagre meals at night, 10-30, and retired to sleep at 15 minutes to 11 P.M. At about 11 he felt uneasy, called in his grandsons and told them that his worldly sports were over. His breathing became hard, he perspired, drank a little water and turned on his side to sleep for ever. The whole affair was over in about five minutes, there could be found no signs of agony, no signs of death pangs on his face. He had always a great hatred for medicines, and his last moment was such that not a drop of this substance was needed.

I should like to add here a little on the personal side of the Mahāmahopādhyāya whom I had the privilege to know as a personal friend. Shastriji was a stoic in appearance, and a man of very few words to strangers. But amongst friends, who were few, he was highly humorous, and was extremely tender to friends. I recall to-day his eyes dimmed with affection the day I was leaving Calcutta to take residence at Patna, now 18 years ago. Never before and never after I saw those eyes so tender again.

Shastriji was an orthodox Brahmin in social life. But he was absolutely free in his thought. I did not come to know what his personal belief or worship was. If he had any, it was purely personal. I came to know him in 1912, and since then I never noticed him depressed or worried on account of any personal matter.

His greatest saying that I remember was: 'It is a matter of fortune to be superseded in research, for it denotes progress in our science and knowledge'. He never negotiated peace with the people he disliked. His sarcasms were withering.

His standard of morality was uncompromising, and he gave up friendships where he found a falling-off.

In letter-writing he was extremely happy in his language and always pithy.

Shastriji knew much more than he could put on paper, although he has contributed very largely to Indology. He was at best when he gave a survey—political, social, literary, or progress of research in various branches. His public addresses, both in Bengali and English, will illustrate this. To this class belongs his text-book of Indian history which was used in schools some decades back. But his surveys at private conversations were marvellous. He could give almost cinematographic pictures covering centuries. I have never seen another scholar so encyclopædic and so narrative and at the same time so graphic in relating branch studies or ensemble syntheses. He could not reproduce those effects in his writings.

An honourable man in every sense, and an honour to Hindu scholarship was Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri. His writings will give food for years to come to scholars that are to come after him. And his countrymen will gratefully remember him, and Indian scholars will remember him as a tradition.

K. P. J.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—Mahanjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization.

I. THE INDUS SCRIPT.

The official account of Archæological Excavations at Mahenjo-Daro carried out by the Government of India between the years 1922 and 1927 has been edited by Sir John Marshall in three volumes, with plan and map in colours, and 164 plates in collotype.¹ The co-ordination of the labours of numerous scholars has produced a sound and successful book, thoroughly worth reading and admirably readable. It covers some of the greatest epochs of human and Indian history, and presents a valuable summary of the results of the latest archæological and historical research bearing on the antiquity of Indian civilization—‘So far, then as Mahenjo-Daro is concerned, there appears to be no sufficient reason for pushing the *terminus a quo* of its antiquities earlier than 3250 B.C. At the same time it is evident—and I should like to stress this point once again—that the culture represented must have had a long antecedent history on the soil of India, taking us back to an age that at present can only be dimly surmised.’ (Vol. I, p. 106.)

This Indus civilization, unrelated to the Vedic which was neither the progenitor nor the lineal descendant of the Indus civilization (Vol. I, p. 111), bears close resemblance to Second Pre-diluvian culture of Elam and Mesopotamia and to the proto-historic culture of Sumer (Vol. I, p. 102). Individual objects (e.g., seals) afford proof of intercourse between Indus Valley, Mesopotamia and Elam (p. 103). Separate series of notes would be necessary to deal with these objects individually. The present notes are confined to a consideration of the script.

The script consists of 288 pictographs running from right to left. They are yet to be deciphered. As regards their origin, the conclusions put forward are:—

¹ *Mahanjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*: Arthur Probsthan, London, 1931.

(a) 'In fact, I am unable to see how anyone can even tentatively hold a resemblance between the Brāhmi alphabet and the Phoenician, and the positive assertion of the correctness of this theory is entirely unwarranted.' (Langdon, Vol. II, p. 431.)

(b) 'The writer believes that the syllabic alphabet of Northern India, known as the Brāhmi script, from which all later characters were derived, is most probably a survival of the early pictographic system of the Indus Valley.' (Vol. II, p. 427.)

(c) 'In all these widely spread epigraphical material, ranging from the upper to the lower parts of the Indus Valley, and to ancient Sumer and Elam, there is not a single text which differs in archaic style from the others. The epigraphist has no scope for studying the evolution of the script. It represents a standardized and advanced stage even at this early period, and the existence of the accents reveals the astonishing care and knowledge of phonetic principles which would hardly be conceded to the scribes of this remote period. * * * The Mesopotamian seals are also decisive on the problem of chronology. Lagash and Umma disappear from history before 2000 B.C., and three of these seals were found there. If inscriptions of no other type are found in the excavations of the Indus Valley, then we must suppose that the history of this fine civilization ends with these monuments, and the vast expanse of years between that catastrophe and the invasion of the Aryans is filled with uncertain tradition. If, however, this script was preserved and finally issued into the alphabet of the Buddhistic period, it proves that the Aryans must have had intimate contact with these founders of culture in India. In any way we may look at the problem, the Aryans in India are far more ancient than history admits. Their migration across Anatolia, where traces of them are found in the inscriptions of the Hittite capital, as early as the seventeenth century, is an hypothesis entirely contradictory to the new situation revealed by these discoveries in the Indus Valley. Far more likely it is that the Aryans in India are the oldest representatives of the Indo-Germanic race.' (Langdon, Vol. II, pp. 431-32.)

As regards decipherment:—

(d) ‘Working with the present material, I suggest to Sanskrit scholars that they choose the names of a few mythical heroes and of deities, and with the few identifications here made attempt to separate the constantly recurring groups of signs and compare them with these names.’

(e) ‘It is necessary to resign further investigation to Sanskrit scholars.’ (Vol. II, p. 424.)

(f) ‘Three assumptions may be made:—

- (i) That the writing is, at least, in part, syllabic.
- (ii) That the seal-inscriptions are, in general, names.
- (iii) That these names belong to an ancient Indo-Āryan language.

Each one of the above conclusions and assumptions proves once more how scholars who declined to disregard Indian tradition achieved sounder results, in spite of violent, often virulent criticism.

Thus (a) was demonstrated by Jayaswal, years ago in J.B.O.R.S., after a penetrating analysis of the Brāhmaṇī alphabet, almost in identical terms—‘I am convinced that all attempts to derive the Brāhmaṇī alphabet from Semitic alphabets were complete failures.’ (Langdon, Vol. II, p. 424.)

(b) Much of the opposition to Jayaswal’s identification of the two pre-Mauryan images from Patna, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (J.B.O.R.S., 1918) was based on an unthinking prejudice against earlier stages of pre-Aśokan Brāhmaṇī.

(c) Pargiter challenged the current theory of an Āryan migration across Anatolia and invasion through the North-West into India, as early as 1922, in his ‘Ancient Indian Historical Tradition’, cf. pp. 301-302, ‘Indian Tradition suggests a reverse origin for the Iranians, which is linguistically tenable, which harmonises with the Boghazkeui treaty, and which can account for their language and religion.’ (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 302.)

The appeal to Sanskritists in (d), (e) and (f) is mainly an appeal to the Purāṇas. The response of the Purāṇas is not unhelpful. It lies in the origin and subsequent history of the race of Pulastyā, Pulaha and Kratu.

Cf. Vāyu, Brahmānda, Liṅga, Kūrma, Padma and Bhāgavata Purāṇas; Mbh. iii, 273, 15881 to 274, 15896: Rām. vii, 2 to 5 and 9.

'Tell me', asked Vaiśampāyana, 'the history of the offspring of Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu.' Sūta said:—

Of the descendants of Sumāli, the Paulastya Asuras in the line of Viśravas were great followers of Śiva. After their defeat in the great war between the Asuras and the Gods, some of them migrated to the east near Vaiśāli. All the Paulastyas went to the South. Rāvaṇa the Śaiva led one branch and founded the city of Laṅkā. Others followed the sea-course to the east and to the west. Another line went across land to the west where beyond the *White Mountain*, they are flourishing now.

Read for Sumāli—Sumerians, for the land of the Pulastis—Palestine, and the connection of the Vedic Panis with the land of the Phoenicians would lose its unintelligibility, cf. Rawlinson, *History of Phoenicia*, p. 379: 'Again several letters were made to serve for two sounds, as *beth* for *b* and *v*, *pe* for both *p* and *f*, etc.' As regards the White Mountain,—'But the great range of Phoenicia, its glory and its boast is Lebanon. Lebanon, the "White Mountain"—"the Mont Blanc of Palestine"—now known as "the Old White-headed Man" (Jebel-es-Sheik), or "the Mountain of Ice" (Jebel-el-Tilj), was to Phoenicia at once its protection, the source of its greatness, and its crowning beauty.' (Rawlinson, *ibid.*, p. 14.)

'This is cultural evidence that no Semitic influence can be found at Jemdet Nasr. The names of the deities found on the pictographic tablets are all well-known Sumerian gods, and so is every one of the signs.'¹

The worship of Śiva is writ large over the ruins at Mahenjo-Daro (Vol. I, pp. 52–6).

This connection of the Asuras and the Āryas at earlier and later stages adds significance and plausibility to the final remarks of Langdon:—'If the two main hypotheses be assumed as true, (1) the identity of the Sumerian and Indus signs, (2) the derivation of the Brāhmaṇī characters from the Indus signs, then it

¹ Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq, 1931, p. 223.

must follow that the Āryan Sanskritists gave values derived from their own language to these characters. In other words they knew the ideographic meanings, translated them into Sanskrit, and derived the syllabic values from the Sanskrit words.¹

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.

¹ Mahenjo-Daro, Vol. II, p. 455.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the
Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in
the Society's office on Sunday, April 24th,
1932.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (Vice-President).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Mr. H. Lambert.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on March 6th, 1932.

2. Passed the monthly account for March, 1932, and the annual account for 1931-32, submitted by the Hon. Treasurer.

3. Passed the revised Budget for 1932-33.

4. Considered the Budget for 1933-34.

Resolved that the reductions in income and expenditure shown in the Budget for 1933-34 be restored in all cases.

Passed the Budget for 1933-34 as amended.

5. Read letter No. 781 from the Allahabad Bank, Patna, dated April 20th.

Passed a resolution authorizing the Hon. Treasurer to withdraw the sum of Rs. 6,107-0-3 from Fixed Deposit with the Allahabad Bank.

6. Resolved that the pay of the Mithila Pandit and of the Office Pandit be reduced by 10 per cent. with effect from April 1st, 1932.

7. Sanctioned payment of the following bills:—

					Rs. A. P.
Baptist Mission Press Bill No.	3024	..	..	..	812 15 6
" "	3025	..	..	..	52 0 0
" "	3026	..	..	..	4 6 0
" "	3027	..	..	..	11 2 0
" "	3028	..	..	..	4 14 0
" "	3029	..	..	..	9 12 0
" "	3030	..	..	..	6 14 0
" "	3031	..	..	..	45 12 0
" "	3032	..	..	..	23 8 0
" "	3033	..	..	..	6 14 0
TOTAL					978 1 6

8. Read the Second Circular of the VII International Congress of Historical Sciences, Warsaw.

Resolved that the Society regrets its inability to send a representative.

J. L. HILL,

Honorary General Secretary.

26th April, 1932.

Annual Account, 1931-32.

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ANNUAL ACCOUNT.

[J.B.O.R.S.]

INCOME.	Actual.		Budget.		EXPENDITURE.		Actual.	Budget.	
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.				
Establishment	1,000	0	1,000	0	Establishment	..	1,400 4 0
Mithila Pandit	1,360	0	1,360	0	Mithila Pandit	..	1,394 14 6
Oriya Pandit	595	0	1,020	0	Oriya Pandit	..	1,423 12 0
Sale of Journal to Government	2,500	0	2,500	0	Printing charges	..	1,900 9 4
Library	1,000	0	1,000	0	Government press bill	..	3,800 0 0
Subscription	1,666	1 0	2,000	0	Library	..	3,550 9 0
Sale of Journal to Public	1,712	8 1	750	0	Telephone	..	515 8 7
Postage recovered	19	5 0	30	0	Postage	..	225 0 0
Miscellaneous	7,447	15 9	..	..	Stationery	..	370 13 6
Sale of Mithila Manuscript	8	12 0	..	..	Furniture	..	90 0 0
Sale of Purnea Report	7	8 0	..	..	Electrical charges	..	85 11 0
							Miscellaneous	..	360 0 0
							Mayurbhanji Fund	..	300 0 0
TOTAL	17,317	1 10	..	..		403 5 10	....
							TOTAL	..	16,915 13 1
								

1. Sale of Journal includes :—

(a) Messrs. Luzac's cheque returned

(b) Actual

2. Miscellaneous includes :—

(a) F.D. released

(b) Interest

(c) Actual

(d) Actual expenditure

Total

Expenditure

Closing Balance

Income

Opening Balance

Total

Expenditure

Closing Balance

Expenditure

Income

Opening Balance

Total

Expenditure

Closing Balance

S. BAHADUR, Honorary Treasurer.

24th April, 1932.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r or ri	य	ph
ॠ	r or ri	ब	b
ऌ	l	ভ	bh
়	l	ম	m
়	e	য	y
়	ai	ৰ	r
়	o	ৱ	l
়	au	৳	v
়	k	়	s
়	kh	়	or sh
়	g	়	s
়	gh	়	h
়	ñ	়	l
়	ch	়	m
়	chh	়	m̥
়	j	়	: (Visarga)
়	jh	়	h
়	ñ	়	x (Jihvāmūliya)
়	t	়	(Upadhmanīya)
়	th	়	s (Avagraha)
়	d	়	Udāttā
়	dh	়	Svarita
়	ñ	়	Anudāttā

**LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE BIHAR
AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY ON
31st DECEMBER, 1931.**

HONORARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Foucher, Monsieur A ..	1919	Professor, University of Paris, Paris.
2	Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D.	1916	Trinity College, Cambridge, England.
3	Gait, Sir E. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1920	The Croft, Park Hill, Ealing, London.
4	Grierson, Sir George, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1916	Rath Farnham, Camberley, Surrey, England.
5	Haddon, Alfred C., M.A., SC.D., F.R.S.	1916	3, Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
6	Jacobi, Dr. Hermann ..	1925	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany.
7	Jolly, Prof. J. ..	1925	Professor of Comparative Philology, Wurzburg.
8	Konow, Dr. Sten ..	1920	Ethnographic Museum, Oslo, Norway.
9	Levi, M. Sylvain ..	1919	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg.
10	Oldham, C. E. A. W., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1926	21, Courtfield Road, London, S.W. 7.
11	Thomas, F. W., M.A., Hon. PH.D., F.R.S.	1919	Boden Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford.
12	Walsh, E. H. C., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1919	c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, London, S.W.

LIFE MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Das, Mr. P. R., Bar.-at-Law	1918	Patna.
2	Deo, Raja Dharnidhar Indra	1917	Feudatory Chief of Bonai State, P.O., Bonaigarh (Orissa).
3	Deo, Raja Narayana Prasad	1929	Ruling Chief of Baudh State.
4	Dharmapala, The Rev. Anagarika.	1918	4-A, College Square, Calcutta.
5	Jalan, Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna.	1918	Patna City.
6	Maharaja Bahadur Guru Mahadeva Asram Prasad Sahi.	1920	Hathwa (Saran).
7	Prasad, Mr. Ajit, M.A., LL.B.	1928	Advocate, Lucknow.
8	Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo ..	1918	Kanika (Orissa).
9	Shah, Mr. Hiralal Amritlal	1918	Princess Street, Champai Buildings, 2nd floor, Bombay.
10	Shahi, Lieut. Madhavasworendra.	1924	Manjha, District Saran.
11	Singh, Raja Raghunandan Prasad.	1924	Monghyr.
12	Singh, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad.	1916	Arrah.
13	Singh, Raja Radhikaraman Prasad, M.A.	1916	Surajpura (Shahabad).
14	Singh, Maharaja Bahadur Sir Keshava Prasad, C.B.E.	1916	Dumraon (Shahabad).
15	Sinha, Mr. Mahendra Prasad	1928	Assistant Settlement Officer, Cuttack.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
A			
1	Acharya, P., B.Sc. ..	1928	Senior Archaeological Scholar, Mayurbhanj State.
2	Ahmad, Hafiz Shamsuddin, M.A.	1927	Patna College, Patna.
3	Aiyangar, R. S. Dr. Krishna- swami, M.A., Ph.D.	1916	43, Brodies Road, Mylapore, Madras.
4	Aiyangar, R. B. K. V. Rangaswami.	1915	Maharaja's College, Trivan- drum, Travancore.
5	Armour, Prof. J. S., M.A. ..	1926	Patna College, Patna.
B			
6	Batheja, Prof. H. R., M.A., I.E.S.	1920	Patna College, Patna.
7	Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R. ..	1924	35, Ballygunge, Circular Road, Calcutta.
8	Bhattacharya, Benoytosh ..	1924	Director, Oriental Institute, Kothi Buildings, Baroda.
9	Bhattacharya, Prof. Tara- pada, M.A.	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
10	Bhide, H. B. ..	1918	Dewanpur Road, Navapark, Bhawanagar.
11	Bodding, Rev. P. O. ..	1918	Mohulpahari, Santal Par- ganas.
12	Bose, Anant Kumar ..	1931	Kadamkuan, Patna.
13	Bose, Phanindra Nath ..	1928	Nalanda College, Bihar Sharif.
C			
14	Carr, Paul Roland ..	1928	3923, Packard Street, Long Island City, N.Y., U.S.A.
15	Chakladar, Haran Chandra, M.A.	1916	28-4, Sri Mohan Lane, Kali- ghat, Calcutta.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
16	Chabe, Ram Kumar ..	1931	Azmatgarh Palace, Benares.
17	Chaudhuri, G. K. ..	1928	Ballipur P.O., Darbhanga.
18	Chaudhuri, Dr. Tarapada, M.A.	1927	Prof., Patna College, Patna.
19	Chaudhuri, P., I.C.S. ..	1931	S.D.O., Bihar Sharif, Patna.
20	Christian, H. D. ..	1920	Superintendent, Gangpur State, Orissa.
21	Coomaraswamy, Dr. Anand K.	1923	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.
D			
22	Das, Kali Prasad ..	1929	Barh, District Patna.
23	Das, Kasinath, M.A. ..	1925	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
24	Das, Madhusudan, B.A., B.L.	1918	Bhubanpur, P.O. Nimapara, Puri.
25	Das, U. K. ..	1918	Srinath Mills, 10, Srinath Das Lane, Calcutta.
26	Datta, Kalikinkar, M.A. ..	..	Lecturer, Patna College, Patna.
27	Dayal, Shiveshwar, M.A., B.L.	1920	Vakil, Patna High Court.
28	Deo, Maharaja Sir Bir Mitro- daya Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.	1920	The Palace, Sonepur.
29	Deo, Tekait Nripendra Nar- ayan Singh.	1928	Seraikela State, Singhbhum.
30	Deshpande, R. S. G. K. ..	1927	Bishramdham, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
31	Dhruva, A. B., M.A. ..	..	Principal, Hindu University, Benares.
E			
	Nil.		

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
F			
32	Fawcus, G. E., M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.	1916	Director of Public Instruction, Patna.
33	Filgate, T. R., C.I.E. ..	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W. I.
G			
34	Ghosh, Adhar Chandra, B.Sc.	1927	Assistant Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
35	Ghosh, Rai Sahib Manoranjan, M.A.	1918	Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
36	Godbole, Y. A., I.C.S. ..	1920	Deputy Commissioner, Daltonganj.
37	Gupta, Shiva Prasad ..	1918	Nagva House, Benares City.
H			
38	Heras, Rev. H., S.J., M.A. ..	1927	St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
39	Hill, J. H., M.A. ..	1930	Patna College, Patna.
40	Hussain, Saiyid Muhammad, M.L.C.	1924	Dariapur, P.O. Bankipur, Patna.
I			
41	Imam, Nawab Shamsul Ulema Sayyid Imdad.	1915	Neora, Patna.
J			
42	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Gopinath Harichandan, Raja Bahadur, M.R.A.S., M.B.D.M.	1924	P.O. Tekkali, Ganjam.
43	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Lakshminarayana Harichandan, Raja Bahadur.	1929	Ditto.

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No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
44	James, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W., I.C.S.	1923	High Court, Patna.
45	Jaruhar, Rameshwar Prasad	1925	Kadamkuan, Patna.
46	Jayaswal, K. P., M.A., Bar-at-Law.	1915	Advocate, Patna High Court.
47	Jha, Lakshmikant, B.L. ..	1925	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
48	Jha, Ramakrishna, B.L. ..	1930	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
49	Jinjal, Srinarayan Lal, B.A., B.L.	1928	Oldham Road, Gaya.
K			
50	Khan, K. B. Sarfaraz Hussain	1916	Khwajekalan, Patna City.
51	Khan Bahadur Syd Muhammad Ismail.	1928	Patna City.
52	Khanna, Vinayak Lal ..	1924	Hindu Library, 3, Nandlal Malik's Lane, Calcutta.
53	Kimura, R.	1920	22, Wellesley 2nd Lane, Calcutta.
54	Kuraishi, Muhammad Hamid, B.A.	1923	Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.
L			
55	Lall, Rai Bahadur Hira ..	1918	Retired Deputy Commissioner, Katni, C.P.
56	Lall, Rai Sahib Bihari ..	1920	Prime Minister, Chhuikadan State, Via Dongargarh, C.P.
57	Lall, Raja P. C. ..	1924	Raja of Nazarganj, Purnea City.
58	Lambert, H., M.A., I.E.S. ..	1920	Patna.
59	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	1924	96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
M			
60	Mackenzie, W.	1916	Superintendent, Government Printing, Gulzarbagh, Patna.
61	Macpherson, Hon'ble Justice, Mr. T. S., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1916	Patna.
62	McPherson, Sir H., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S (Retd.).	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W. I.
63	Mahapatra, Chaudhuri Bhagvat Prasad Samantarai.	1924	P.O. Bhadrak, Balasore.
64	Mahashaya Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray.	1915	Lakshnannath, Balasore.
65	Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan.	1920	Muzaffarpur.
66	Majumdar, Dr. R. C. ..	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
67	Majumdar, Bimanbehari ..	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
68	Malaviya, Pandit Balagovinda.	1924	Patna City.
69	Manuk, P. C., Bar.-at-Law	1920	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
70	Mehta, N. C., I.C.S. ..	1927	Azamgarh.
71	Metropolitan, The Most Rev. ....	....	The Palace, Bishop's House, 51, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
72	Miller, Sir T. Dawson, K.T. . .	1919	11, King's Bench Walk Temple, E.C., London.
73	Mishra, Pandit Janardan, M.A.	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
74	Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L. . .	1920	D.J. College, Monghyr.
75	Mukerji, Prof. A ..	1929	10, Bol. Guozdnikovsky, Apt. 202X, Moscow.
N			
76	Nahar, Puranchand, M.A., B.L.	1917	1/8, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
77	Noor, K. B. Khwaja Muhammad.	1915	Gaya.
	O		
	Nil.		
	P		
78	Panda, R. Ch., L.M.P. ..	1931	Medical Officer, Parikud, Puri.
79	Pandeya, Sahadeva Narayan, M.A.	1925	S.I. Schools, Madhepura, Bhagalpur.
80	Pantulu, J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L.	1915	Mukteswaram, Tottarmundi P.O., Godavari District.
81	Pantulu Garu Srinivas Rao, M.A., L.T., M.R.R.Y.	1928	Principal, Hindu College, Masulipatam.
82	Patnaik, Sudhakar ..	1921	Sub-Deputy Collector, Balasore.
83	Peppe, A. T. ..	1915	Manager, Chota Nagpur Raj, Ranchi.
84	Perier, Most Rev. F. J., S.J.	1915	Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta.
85	Petter, A. B. ..	1915	Deputy Magistrate, Gaya.
86	Prasad, Biswanath, M.A. ..	1928	c/o Babu Tribeni Prashad, B.L., Vakil, Chapra.
87	Prasad, Hon'ble Justice Sir Jwala, K.T.	1916	High Court, Patna.
88	Prasad, Kamta ..	1930	Professor of Physics, Science College.
89	Prasad, Krishnadeva, M.A., B.L.	1929	Langertoli, Patna.
90	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L. ..	1926	Pleader, Chapra.
91	Prasad, Nageswar, M.A., B.L.	1928	Vakil, Patna.

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No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
92	Prasad, Surya Prasad Mahajan. Q Nil. R	1918	Manula Library, Gaya.
93	Ramdas, G., B.A. ..	1924	Headmaster, Board High School, Jeypur, Vizagapatam.
94	Ranganathan, S. R. ..	1927	Librarian, Madras University, Madras.
95	Ratnakar, Jagannath Das	1928	Shivalaya Ghat, Benares.
96	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal	1915	Patna.
97	Ray, Rai Bahadur S. C., M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
98	Richards, F. J. ..	1924	6, Lexham Gardens, London, W. 8.
99	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna ..	1925	Dhaulpura Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
100	Ross, Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. L. S	1917	Patna.
101	Sabanis, R.V. ..	1925	Librarian, Bombay University, Bombay.
102	Sahay, Shyamnandan, B.A.	1928	Sahay Bhavan, Muzaffarpur.
103	Saheb Bhubaneswar Singh	1930	Kamalalaya, Muzaffarpur.
104	Sarkar, Ganpati ..	1926	69, Beliaghata Road, Calcutta.
105	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S., (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Sarkaravas, Darjeeling.
106	Sarkar, Dr. Subimal C. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(continued).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
107	Sarma, Srikanta ..	1930	Zilla School, Monghyr.
108	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.)	1916	Principal, B. N. College, Patna.
109	Seppings, E. H. L. ..	1916	Innes Road, P.O. Kemmendine, Rangoon.
110	Sham Bahadur ..	1928	Bar.-at-Law, Patna.
111	Shastri, Dr. A Banerji, M.A., P.H.D.	1923	Patna College, Patna.
112	Shastri, Dr. Harichand, D.LITT., I.E.S.	1918	Ditto.
113	Shastri, I. D. Durgadatti ..	1920	Superintendent, Sanskrit Association, Patna.
114	Shastri, Prof. Gokulchand ..	1928	Sri-Chandra College, Kathmandu, Bagbazar, Nepal.
115	Shaw, Parmanand ..	1926	Daldary Bazar, Dinapore Cantt.
116	Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L.	1915	Asst. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Muzafferpur.
117	Singh, Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan.	1916	Amawan, District Patna.
118	Singh, Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand.	1915	Banaili, Purnea.
119	Singh, Raja Rajendralal, Bariha.	1916	Barsambar, Padampur, Sambalpur.
120	Singh, R. B. Ramranavijaya	1924	K. V. Press, Patna.
121	Singh, Sarangadhar, M.A., B.L.	1925	Ditto.
122	Sinha, Mahendrakishore, B.A., B.L.	1926	Bhaimsa, Dist. Nanded, Hyderabad, Deccan.
123	Sinha, Paras Nath, B.A., LL.B.,	1930	Bharati Publishers, Patna.
124	Sinha, S., Bar.-at-Law ..	1915	Patna.

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(concluded).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
125	Sullivan, The Rt. Rev. Dr., S. J.	1929	Lord Bishop, Patna.
126	Surya Narayan, B.L. ..	1924	Translator, High Court, Patna.
127	Svarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Mahalla Maithan, Agra.
128	Syed Muhammad ..	1924	Makhaniakuan, P.O. Bankipur, Patna.
T			
129	Tagore, K. N., B.A. ..	1926	5-1, Baranashi Ghosh's Street, Calcutta.
130	Tarafdar, Rev. S. K. ..	1915	Principal, C.M.S. High School, Bhagalpur.
131	Taraporewala, Y. J. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College.
132	Terrell, The Hon'ble Sir Courtney, k.t.	1928	Chief Justice, High Court, Patna.
133	Tripathi Devadatta ..	1916	Patna College, Patna.
134	„ Narayana ..	1930	Secretariat, Patna.
135	Trivedi, Rao Bahadur V. G., LL.B.	1929	Watson Museum, Rajkot.
U			
136	Urdhwaseshi, W. G., M.A. ..	1925	25, Krishnapura, Indore, C.I.
V			
137	Varma, S. P. ..	1930	Bar.-at-Law, Patna.
138	Vidyalankar, Jaya Chandra	1929	Kasi Vid yapitha, Benares.
139	Vogel, Dr. J., PH.D. ..	1920	Noordeindsplein, 40 Leiden, Holland.

JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.
SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER, 1932.

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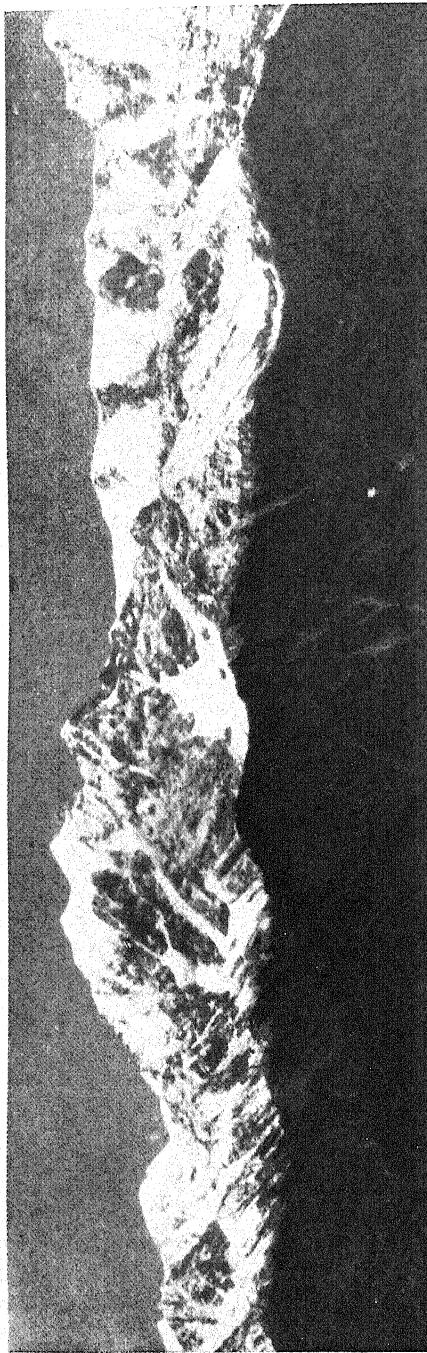
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Trisūl from Dhakeri hill.



JOURNAL
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VOL. XVIII.]

1932.

[PART III.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—The Skirts of Nanda Devi—(*Continued*).

By the Vice-President.

II.

2. *The route to Phurkiyā.*

A journey such as that described by the Schlagintweits, when they travelled from Patna to Kumaon in 1855, is a thing of the distant past; but until the growth of motor transport in comparatively recent years, travellers to the mountains, whether they were visiting the Pindari Glacier or taking less frequented routes, began their march at the terminus of the railway at Kathgodam. For Phurkiyā, or for the Gorīgaṅgā valley and the Untādhurā pass, the route lies through Bāgeśwar, which is eighteen miles N.N.W. from Almora as the crow flies, and through Kapkot, fourteen miles farther north by the bank of the Sarju. They had the choice of two alternative routes, of which they usually took one on the outward journey and the other in returning. They could go through Bhim Tal, Ramgarh and Peora to Almora, and thence through Thakulā to Bāgeśwar; or they could take the cart-road through Rānikhet to Majhkali, and from there cross Arideo to Someśwar, which is $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.N.E. from Almora.

(for a crow), and sixteen miles from Bāgeśwar by the bridle path. That was a pleasant way of travelling; but it made the journey longer. Twenty or thirty years ago, men had been climbing and descending for six days when they reached Bāgeśwar, a fact which should be remembered if travellers who have published accounts of the journey appear to have thought that in ultimately reaching Phurkiyā they had almost arrived at the end of the world.

Until comparatively recently it was customary to take fresh coolies at each stage, so that every day began with some anxiety and loss of time and temper while the coolies were being collected. Dr. Boeck travelled for the greater part of his journey in this manner, actually gathering coolies day by day while he was going across country from the Pindari valley to the Gorīgaṅgā; but it is not a manner of travelling to be recommended. The Government Transport Agency at Almora now provides permanent coolies for the whole journey; and the simplest course is to arrange with the Secretary that the requisite number of coolies shall be ready at Almora. Each coolie carries forty pounds for twelve annas a day; and if the baggage can be arranged in proper loads, and a trustworthy man can be sent ahead to Almora to take it out to Someśwar, it is now possible to go by motor-car direct from Kathgodam to Someśwar, thereby saving another day which would otherwise be spent in the lower hills, a matter of some importance to visitors from Bihar, whose time is ordinarily limited. At Katarmal, seven miles from Almora, a good motorable road takes off for Someśwar, so that it is not necessary to go as far as Almora. I have remarked that the old method of doing the journey was more pleasant; but it took time: and as most people who have not unlimited time at their disposal would prefer to spend as much as possible of it beyond the foot-hills, they take the motor to Almora or Someśwar. For the generality of people, as the Schlagintweits might say, the journey by motor-car is found to be trying and not pleasurable. Every companion with whom I have done that journey has suffered, the youngest most of all; but one of the greatest of modern mountaineers has found journeys by motor-car in

these hills equally trying, which should give some consolation to those who may feel qualms on the road. I myself doubt whether anybody would suffer in a car that was completely open; but whether that is true or not, there is little to choose between the route to Almora and that to Someśwar. The trying parts of the journey occur in the climb up to Rānikhet, and in the descent to Katarmal; the road to Someśwar is easy enough, and one may as well go from Katarmal to Someśwar as to Almora.

If Almora is taken as the starting point, the first march is to the bungalow at Thakulā (5,335), an easy journey of fourteen miles. From there the route to Bāgeśwar is a little over twelve miles, a short descent, followed by a climb to the pass, from which the road to the Sarju is all down hill, ending with a tiring walk of two miles by the bank of the Sarju. From Someśwar (4,548), the route is a little longer, but less tiring, leading over a pass (6,600) and thence by an easy descent to the junction of the Sarju and the Gomati, where Bāgeśwar lies. If arrangements can be made ahead the route by Someśwar is to be preferred. Bāgeśwar (3,200) is a picturesque village, of stone houses adorned with carved wood-work, and stone paved streets, standing at the junction of the Gomati and Sarju, whose blue waters, flecked into pure white as they dash against the boulders which obstruct their passage, are seen from time to time through side-alleys as one passes up the main street. There is here an ancient temple of Śiva¹, built about 1450 A.D., specially sacred from the local legend that this junction of the rivers is the actual place where Mahādeva espoused Pārvatī Devi. The bungalow is spacious and comfortable, on the left bank of the Sarju, which here abounds in mahseer, though the fisherman should go lower down, below the junction of the rivers.

Leaving Bāgeśwar, we again cross the suspension bridge to the right bank of the Sarju, which is followed for fourteen miles to Kapkot (3,450), a level march through a beautiful

¹ See Mr. Panna Lall's 'Account of a tour in the Almora District, Himalayas' (*J.B.O.R.S.*, VI, pp. 361-371).

valley, usually found to be hot. From Kapkot the route continues for a short distance along the right bank, until the river is crossed by a suspension bridge which was built as a memorial to the men of Dhanpur pargana who lost their lives in the Great War. Two and a half miles farther, the left bank becomes precipitous, and the route leaves the Sarju for a short time, for half a mile following the left bank of a tributary stream, which is followed to its source by the traveller for the Gorīgaṅgā. The routes diverge at a bridge, where the old signpost 'To Tibet' used to stand. The route to the Pindar valley here skirts a hill, rising to 4,400 feet near the 45th milestone (from Almora), and then descending again to the Sarju, which is crossed for the last time, by a modern bridge a furlong beyond the 46th milestone. The right bank is followed to the 48th milestone, where the route leaves the Sarju, and a steep climb of a mile leads to Loharkhet (5,500), the last village of the outer ranges, and the last with a post-office. The valley of the Sarju has now been left behind, and only the lower slopes of the long ridge running south from Nandā Koṭ remain to be crossed before the Pindar valley is reached. The ridge is crossed, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Loharkhet, at the Dhakeri pass (9,516), from which an easy descent of half a mile leads to the Dhakeri rest-house (8,870). This march, involving a climb of four thousand feet, is laborious only at the lower levels, and is merely delightful as the pass is approached, with the snows of Nandā Koṭ (22,530) shining ahead, and a beautiful distant view of the perfect pyramid of snow (22,660), flanked by four slightly lower peaks, which lie east of north-east thirty miles away. These are the Panch Chola, in Hindu tradition the corruptible bodies made incorruptible, of the five Pāṇḍava brothers of the Mahābhārata, who gave up their kingdom to climb to the abode of the Gods, and there rejoin their comrades who by death on the field of battle had already won their passport to heaven¹.

¹ I quote from Mr. E. B. Havell's account of the legend, which is illustrated by a striking distant view of this group in his *Himalayas in Indian Art*.

One by one they stumbled and fell, borne down by the consciousness of their faults, until at last the good king Yudhishtira, the eldest of the five brothers, the only one who had never swerved from the path of honour and duty, was left alone with a faithful dog who had followed him and shared all the trials of the pilgrimage. But when Indra, the King of Heaven, appeared to take him up in his shining car, a further proof was demanded of Yudhishtira—the pure precincts of the Devas' courts must never be defiled. Indra bade him leave the unclean dog behind. Yudhishtira declared that to desert a devoted friend, though only a dog, was a sin against Dharma, the inexorable law of righteousness which the Devas themselves must obey. Rather than obey Indra's commands he would renounce the joys of paradise. But as he turned sorrowfully away the dog assumed its real form, that of the god Dharma himself, the pure spirit of Nature, which often thus disguises itself in humble forms to fulfil the purpose of the Lord of Life. Mr. Havell justly remarks that the story illustrates the tendency of Indian thought to transmute æsthetical and ethical ideas; and points out how Dharma was identified with Śiva; and the guardian deity of the Abode of Snow became the symbol of spiritual purity and religious duty.

The wise traveller, who is moderately healthy and strong, will do well to turn to the west a little before the Dhakeri pass is reached and ascend Dhakeri hill. The ascent involves a climb of another thousand feet over down-like country, ascended in a mile; but, paradoxical though it may appear, so far from being fatiguing, it will be found to be so completely easy and delightful that it will remove any sensations of fatigue that may have been felt on the ascent from Loharkhet. I doubt whether there are many places in the world where a thousand feet in a mile can be climbed rapidly with so little consciousness of effort; and the journey is worth undertaking, if only for that remarkable experience. The panorama from the top of the hill is magnificent. Immediately below is the Pindar valley, on the other side of which are glaciers flowing down from the Trisūl group (23,406, 22,490 and 22,360), and from 21,858 and 21,624. The peaks of Trisūl dominate

the landscape ; but the peaks of Nandā Devī are concealed, owing to the proximity of the long high snowy ridges of Trisūl East and Sundardhungā (21,858). South-east of 21,858 is the Pindari Glacier with Nandā Kot. More distant on the eastern side, the Panch Chola peaks stand out, with the mountains of Nepal beyond. On the south lie the outer ranges, with Cheena and Lariya Kanta prominent, while beyond are the plains of India. A cairn stands at the summit of Dhakeri, said to have been erected when a Governor visited the place. The first vowel of Dhākerī is long, but the word as always pronounced might be better transliterated as Dhankerī. The ascent from the pass up the grassy slope to the summit crowned with the cairn is not unlike the ascent of Dunkerry in the Exmoor country ; and it is probably for this reason that Dhakeri hill has come to be known as the Beacon.

The Dhakeri rest-house (8,870) is a pleasant place, facing the outer snowy ridges of Trisūl and Nandā Devī. The prospect on the north up to Nandā Kot is for the greater part what was seen from the Beacon, though necessarily more limited from the fact that the rest-house is seventeen hundred feet lower : Trisūl (22,490) and East Trisūl (22,360), together with 21,858, the Pindari Glacier and Nandā Kot ; but the highest peak of Trisūl is not visible from here. The wild raspberry abounds at this elevation in October, similar to the raspberry which abounds in the Alps three thousand feet lower, and two months earlier. It may, so far as my experience has gone, be enjoyed with impunity ; and to pick up refreshment in this way as one climbs towards the Dhakeri pass, or up to Diwāli, and to have fresh fruit, not taken out of a tin, certainly adds to the enjoyment of this part of the journey. There is also a wild gooseberry, which should be treated cautiously. The coolies are apt to gorge on it, and this will probably cause trouble when one or more of them are laid out with severe colic. It is embarrassing to the traveller who lacks medical knowledge, when he is travelling in these remote regions, to find that he is expected to show medical skill ; but for this form of trouble, heat applied to the agonised region is the safest remedy for the amateur to use : and the

traveller should for this reason not be without hot water bottles, whatever other medical comforts or remedies he may think fit to take with him.

An easy march of five miles leads down to Khati (7,650), the last inhabited village of the valley. The rest-house stands high above the Pindar river, commanding beautiful views of Nandā Koṭ and the eastern Trisūl peak. From here the traveller who has provided himself with tents can strike across country to the Gorīgāngā if he pleases; and the traveller who has no tents will probably begin to regret that he has none. Dr. Boeck, after he had been weather-bound at Phurkiyā for a fortnight, travelled from here across country to Lilam, by Mikila and Namik, taking a long time over the journey, and suffering badly on the way, because he had to travel low in order to pick up his transport from day to day, in the fashion which ruled in his time; and it has always appeared more remarkable to me that he got through in this way at all than that he took a long time in doing it. There is a high level route, known to the men of Johar, from Baugdiar in the Gorīgāngā valley (8,550), by the Poting Glacier and the slopes of 19,554, which should be interesting; but of course not possible if transport were to be picked up day by day.

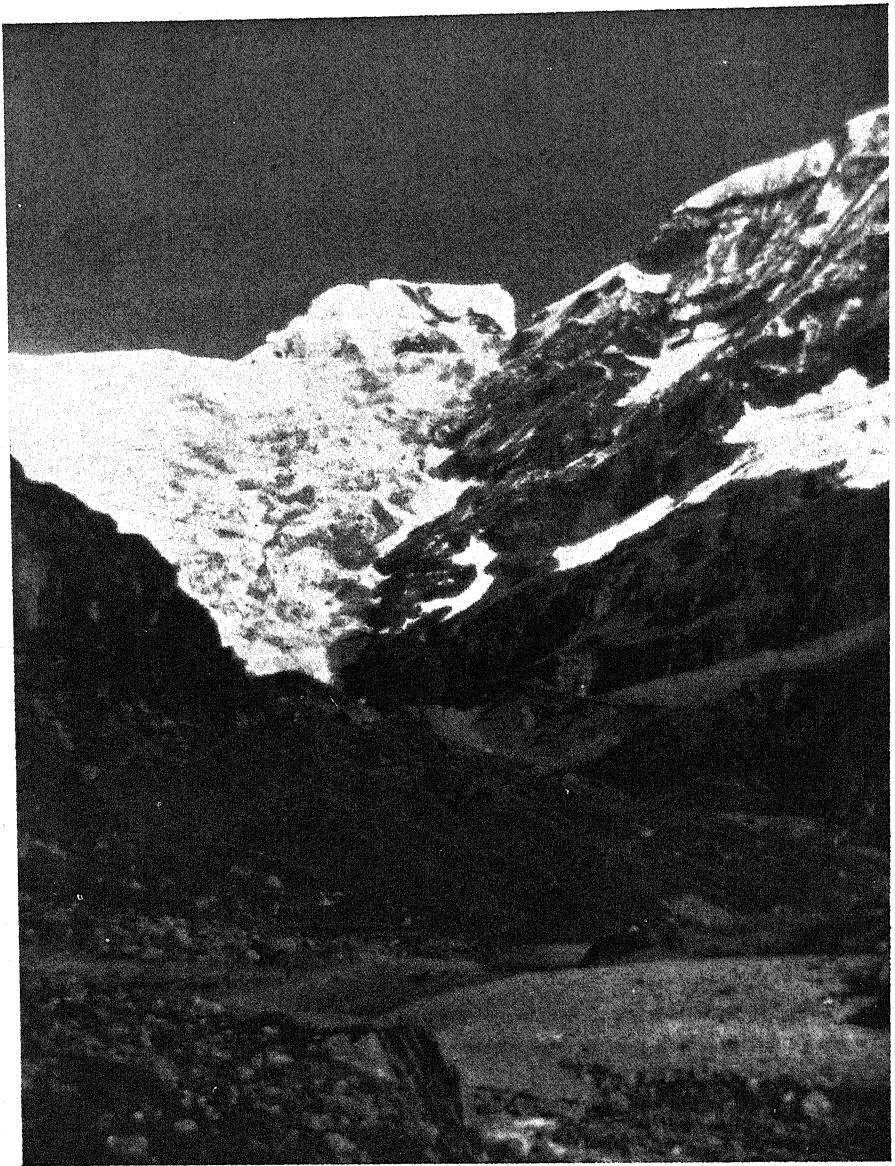
The journey to the Pindari Glacier is generally regarded as so exceptionally easy because it can be accomplished without tents; and because it is ordinarily done in this way, a large proportion of those who do it lament their lost opportunities when they record their experiences in the Phurkiyā log-book. The art of making very light and easily portable tents has been brought to such perfection in India that very little is saved by travelling without them; so easily carried, so quickly and easily pitched, and affording such complete freedom in the mountains that to travel without them is mistaken economy.

Many travellers pass Khati by, and go straight from Dhākeri to Diwāli (9,000), which though it is a double march, is only ten miles in all, and easier than many of the regular stages. The route from Khati lies by the Pindar river, which is twice crossed on the way. Near Diwāli the right bank is high and steep; and the tributaries of the Pindar

descend in cascades of wonderful beauty. Mr. Campbell Forrester photographed one of the waterfalls; but as he truly says, no photograph could give the faintest impression of its beauty. He was not the first or the last to discover that. The delicate beauty of these waterfalls, which must be seen to be realised, gains in impressiveness to the eye from the great height of the fall; but the camera cannot reproduce the play of colour which occurs when at every five hundred feet or so the falling water strikes a projecting rock; and in any photograph the immensity of the fall tends to make the volume of water, which is considerable, appear insignificant. To include a man, standing by the foot of the fall, might possibly give some impression of its size; but I think that these wonderful falls would bring to despair an artist seeking 'composition'. There are some beauties of nature which are beyond the capacity of art to reproduce or adequately suggest.

Diwāli stands at the junction of the Kuphini and the Pindar rivers. The Pindar valley henceforth runs almost due north; and in favourable conditions the eastern peak of Nandā Devi here comes into view. Four miles farther up the valley is Phurkiyā (10,000), where is the last of the rest-houses.

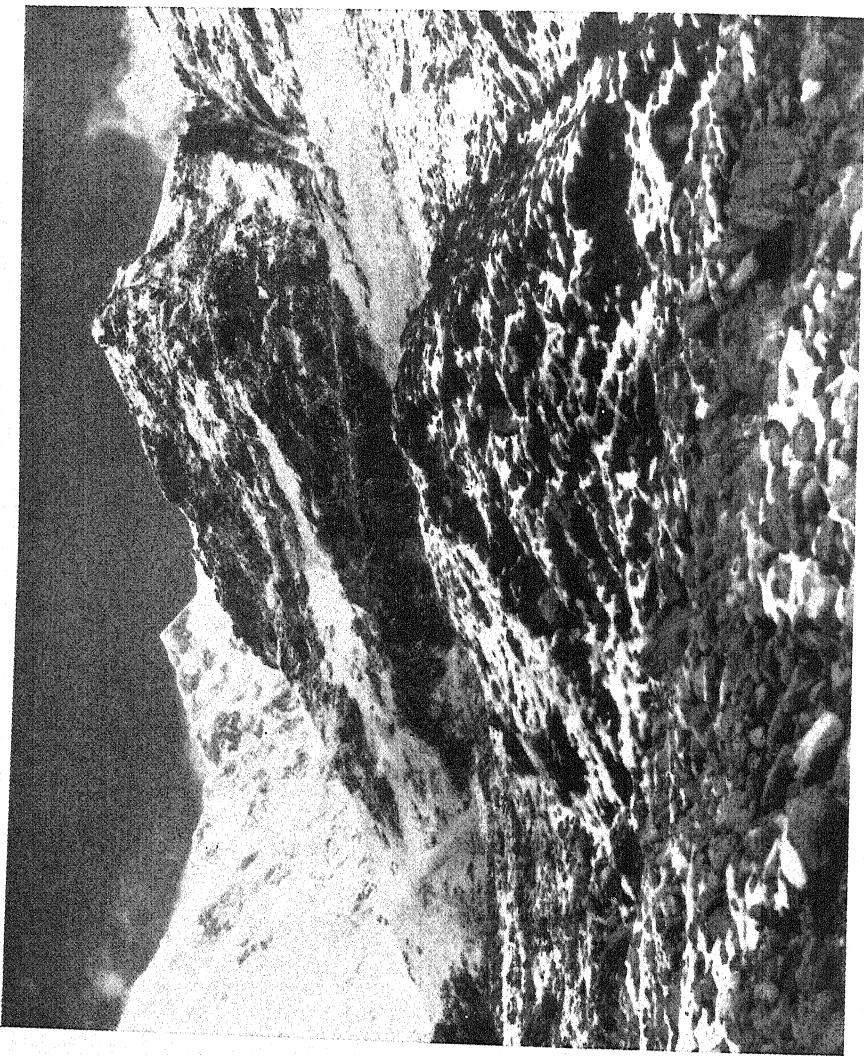
Whatever the traveller without tents may have thought at Khati, he will find cause to regret his lack of them at Diwāli, since the lack of them will confine his exploration of the Kuphini valley to a mere dash out and back from Diwāli. The bed of the Kuphini in its lower reaches presents a curious appearance of desolation, covered with the debris of avalanches. The snout of the glacier is at 12,650 feet, about seven miles from Diwāli, by a rough and steep track, which has the merit of never descending appreciably, so that every step is something actually gained in height. From the fifth mile to the foot of the ice-fall (13,050) a succession of roomy plateaux afford excellent camping grounds; and the higher valley is beautiful. The glacier, fed on the east by subsidiary glaciers from 19,554, descends from Nandā Kot, which stands out above the ice-fall. The appearance of the right lateral moraine suggests that a route to the highest névé of Nandā Kot might here be found, but the appearance may be deceptive.



The Kuphini Glacier and Nanda Kot.

J. B. O. R. S., 1932.

The Pindari Glacier < left lateral moraine>.



Monal are common on the moraines of this valley. In the October of 1931, we came on the fresh footmarks of a large tiger in the sand of the Kuphini at 12,000 feet. He must have been living a hard life if he was subsisting on baral and tahr ; but there was nothing else there for him to find. Baral have been shot on the Pindari Glacier, but very rarely ; and they are not common in these valleys. The tahr is much more common ; a group is ordinarily to be seen in the evening on some distant ledge ; often nearer, tempting to long shots, but comparatively few are brought to bag.

III. *Phurkiyā and the Pindari Glacier.*

'The book contained the usual assortment..... There was the politely patronising entry :

Being accustomed to Wolverhampton, I am greatly pleased with this coast.

The poetical effusion :

*Majestic spot : say doth the sun in heaven
Behold aught to equal thee, wave washed Penleven, etc.*

The contemplative man's ejaculation :

*It is impossible, on viewing these Cyclopean
Cliffs, to repress the thought, How great is Nature, how
little Man.*

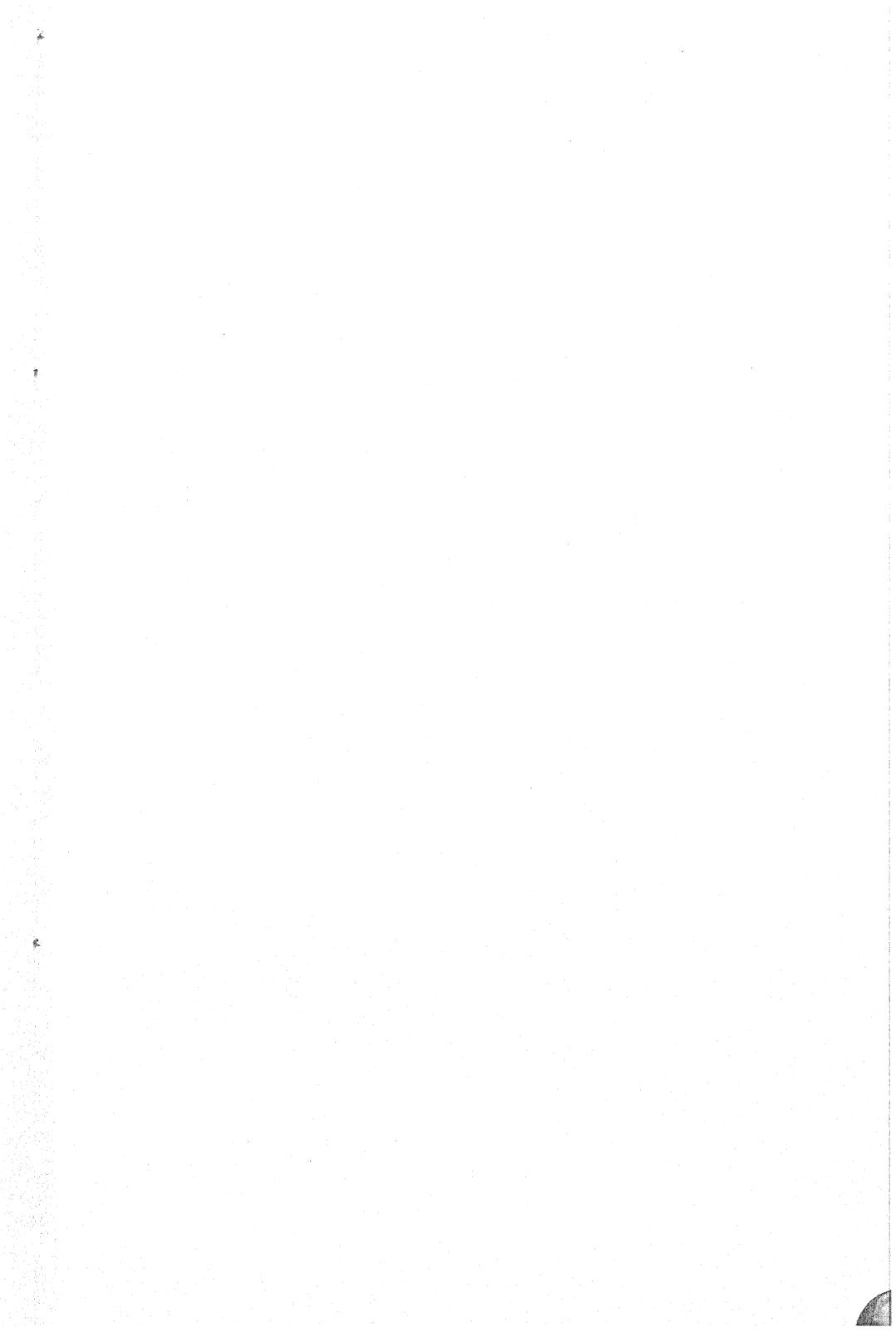
A note ; *So it is old chap* ; and a reproof in another hand : *Shut up, can't you see he's suffering.*'

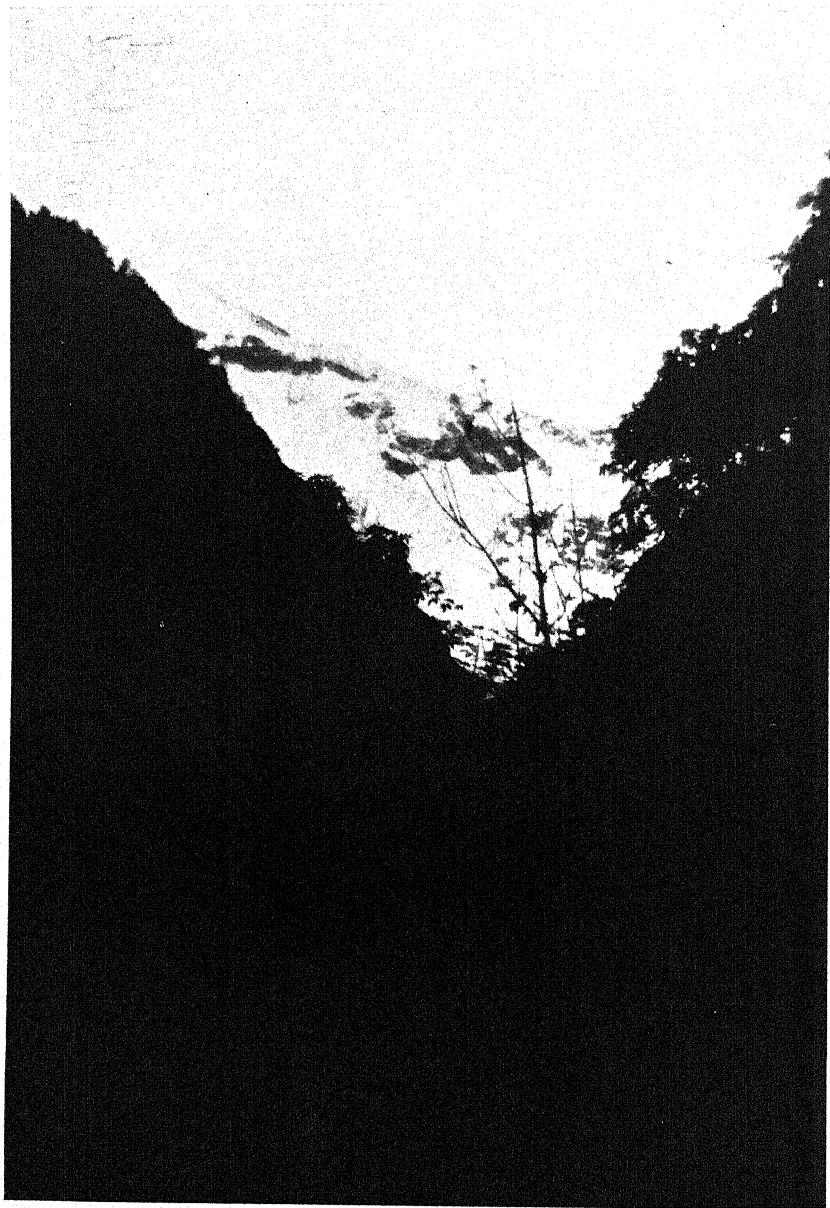
Extracts from Mr. Job's visitors' book at Penleven.
(*'The Haunted Yacht'* by 'Q').

The windows of the rest-house at Phurkiyā are protected on the outside, when the house is not in use, by stout boards ; a necessary precaution, since otherwise in the early winter, when the bungalow is undergoing the annually recurring process of being buried in snow, the debris coming down with a snow-slide would stove the windows in. The boards serve also to keep out wild animals. When we visited Phurkiyā in

October of 1924, we found that a bear had taken refuge from the great storm of the previous month by climbing on the roof and making a great hole in it, so gaining access to the southern room. He had made his exit by breaking down the door from inside. The bungalow originally consisted of one room, with a porch on the north, of which photographs may be found in Dr. Boeck's *Indische Gletscherfahrten*. Another room has now been added; and the old porch has been converted into a bay window, which in the winter of 1930-31 was slightly dislodged by an unusually violent snow-slide, so that the rain and the wind now enter by the gaps in the alcove of the northern room; but the room is large, no appreciable discomfort is caused, and the stability of the bungalow itself is apparently not threatened.

On the 25th of May, 1894, Colonel J. W. A. Michell, of the Indian Staff Corps, planted flags on the glacier in order to ascertain its rate of flow, as Tyndall had done a generation before on the Mer de Glace. He left an exact note of their positions, so that future travellers might make observations; but Phurkiyā is a very different kind of place to the Montanvers, and although every visitor to the place might reasonably be expected to assist, and certainly would do so, it is too far from the nearest haunt of civilised men for hope of success in such an experiment. It may be true that more parties visit the Pindari Glacier than other glaciers of the Himalaya; but in saying that one is only speaking relatively; and visitors to the Pindari come at long and uncertain intervals. A traveller did visit the place three weeks after Colonel Michell had set up his flags; he noted that they had all fallen, and one had distinctly moved, but the distance was not noted. The next comment is that all traces of the flags have disappeared. The loosely bound sheets of paper left by Colonel Michell for the record of observation of the movement of the glacier were treated, after the flags had disappeared, as a kind of Visitors' Book, in which travellers recorded their achievements, and when they had nothing worth recording to note, became facetious or sentimental. Mr. F. Canning of the Indian Forest Service, whose own contributions to the book are among the





Sunset on Nanda Devi, from mile 70.

(In the middle foreground is the darkening slope of 21624).

more valuable, ultimately collected all that remained of the loosely bound sheets, and bound them up into a substantial book, which he presented to the bungalow as the Phurkiyā Log-book. Some earlier entries had been lost before Mr. Canning collected what was left, as we know from extracts from the sheets which were published before the first bound book was made. The book now runs into three substantial volumes, which present a curious mixture; the ordinary trivialities of the ordinary Visitors' Book; scientific notes by officers of the Forest Department, including a complete account of the local flora from Mr. H. Champion; notes on the apparent retreat of the glacier; and records of serious mountaineering exploits. We find the politely patronising entry; 'Having been on glaciers in many parts of the world, I did not go on the Pindari Glacier, but I greatly admired the view'. There is no lack of the contemplative man's ejaculations, or of poetical effusions and humorous entries, all of which serve to entertain parties who find themselves weather-bound in the bungalow; though the practice of appending marginal notes to other persons' entries should be discouraged. Among the more valuable entries is a note of exploration of the glacier made by Mr. Canning himself in 1912, illustrated by an excellent map.

The Pindari Glacier flows down from the slopes of 21,624, an outlying peak of Nandā Devī, and 20,740, a lesser peak of Nandā Kot. The Dhanpuriyas are apt, when on the glacier, to call 21,624 Nandā Devī and 20,740 Nandā Kot, a fact which leads to much discussion in the book. Dr. L. L. Fermor in 1906 pointed out that Nandā Devī was not visible from the glacier (that is to say from the lower part of it). This is correct; Nandā Devī is concealed by the slopes of 21,624. It is not clear whether Dr. Fermor meant also to say that Nandā Devī was not visible from the Pindar valley; but he was read as having said this; and it appears to have been generally assumed that Nandā Devī was not visible from Phurkiyā, so that somebody always dogmatically corrects travellers who claim to have seen her. An engineer from Dhanbad, who supports his statement by a mathematical demonstration of its possibility, does not thereby escape subsequent correction; and

in due course we find in the book a picture of a tombstone erected over the dead legend that Nandā Devī is visible from the glacier, Phurkiyā or Diwālī. The visitor to Phurkiyā or Diwālī should look towards the north at sunrise or sunset on a perfectly clear day; and he will see the eastern peak of Nandā Devī lit up by the sun while 21,624 and the rest of the mountains are in darkness, a most beautiful sight, which will leave no doubt in his mind on the question. At that time of day it is perfectly clear that the peak is several miles behind the slopes of 21,624; but its distance is not apparent after sunrise, when it looks like a part of 21,624. The peak is visible from Phurkiyā, and for the first mile of the path to the glacier; more of it is naturally visible from Diwālī, though most frequently, on a day which is otherwise perfectly clear, the only indication of its existence is a small wisp of cloud in the north.

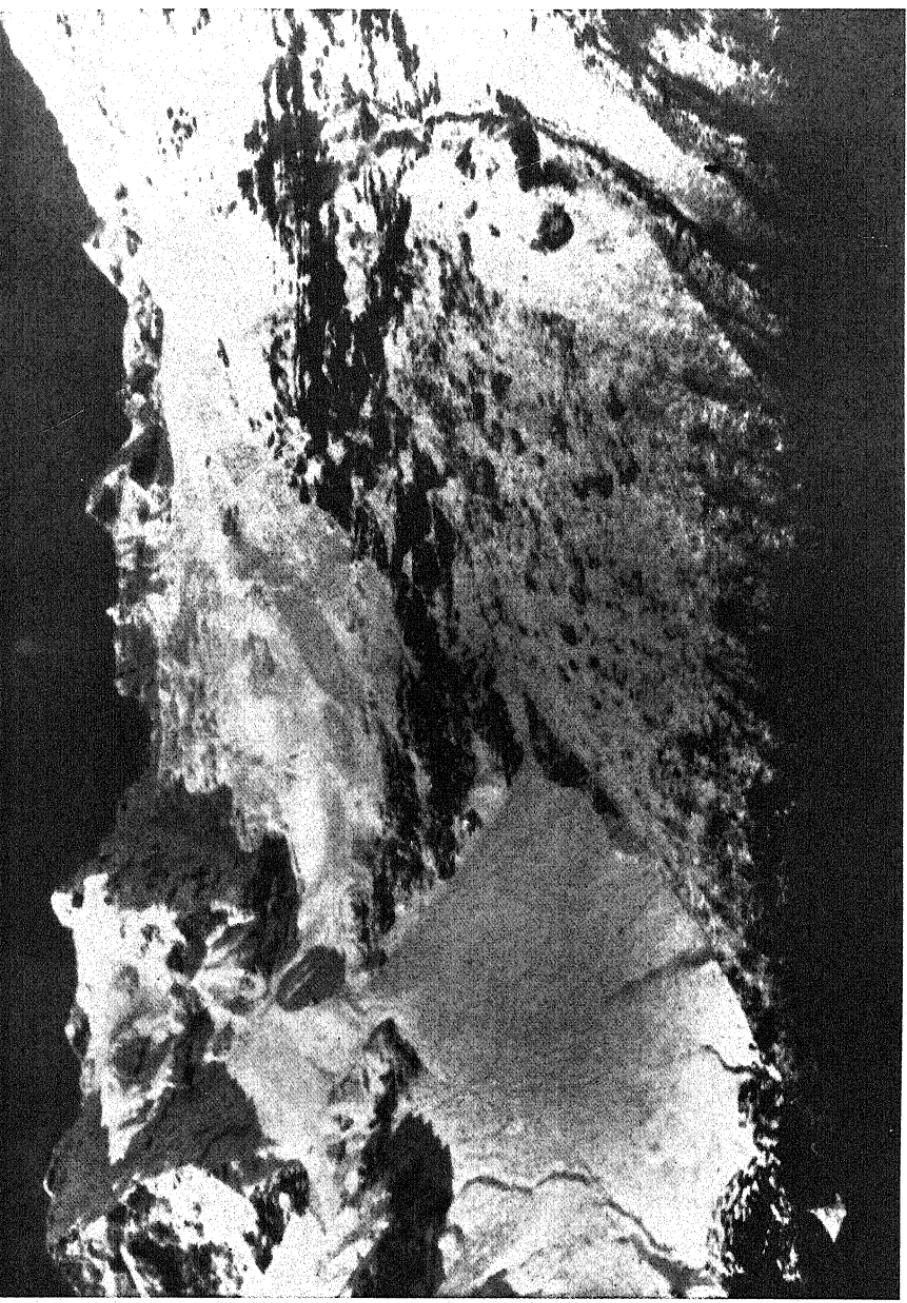
The Dhanpuriyas' trick of miscalling 20,740 Nandā Kot has been treated in the log-book with more respect. The Nandā Kot of the Survey map is the mountain (22,530), which in a distant view from the south stands out so prominently, appearing to form the eastern end of the Nandā Devī group, from which fact it probably derived its name. It is known by that name to the people of India generally (or to those of them who know anything about it at all); and so far as my own observation has gone, speaking subject to correction, I should say that it is known by no other name to the local people of the Gorīgāngā side. The Dhanpuriyas of Lohārkhet, though they also call it Nandā Kot, have another local name for it, Bankattia. Hence some writers in the log-book, including Mr. H. G. Champion, whose opinion demands respect, consider that 22,530 is miscalled Nandā Kot, and that the name should be applied to 20,740. That is all very well; but when others presume to correct previous travellers, by marginal notes substituting Bankattia where Nandā Kot has been mentioned, it is going too far. Dr. Kurt Boeck in his *Indische Gletscherfahrten* calls 24,379 Nandā Kot; but this is probably a mere mistake. I do not myself consider that any useful purpose is to be served by departing from the nomenclature

of the Survey, which indeed I think to be correct. There is comparatively little point in the name as applied to 20,740; and I certainly do not think that the name of Nandā Kot ought to be applied to any of the subsidiary peaks of the group in which 22,530 is the chief.

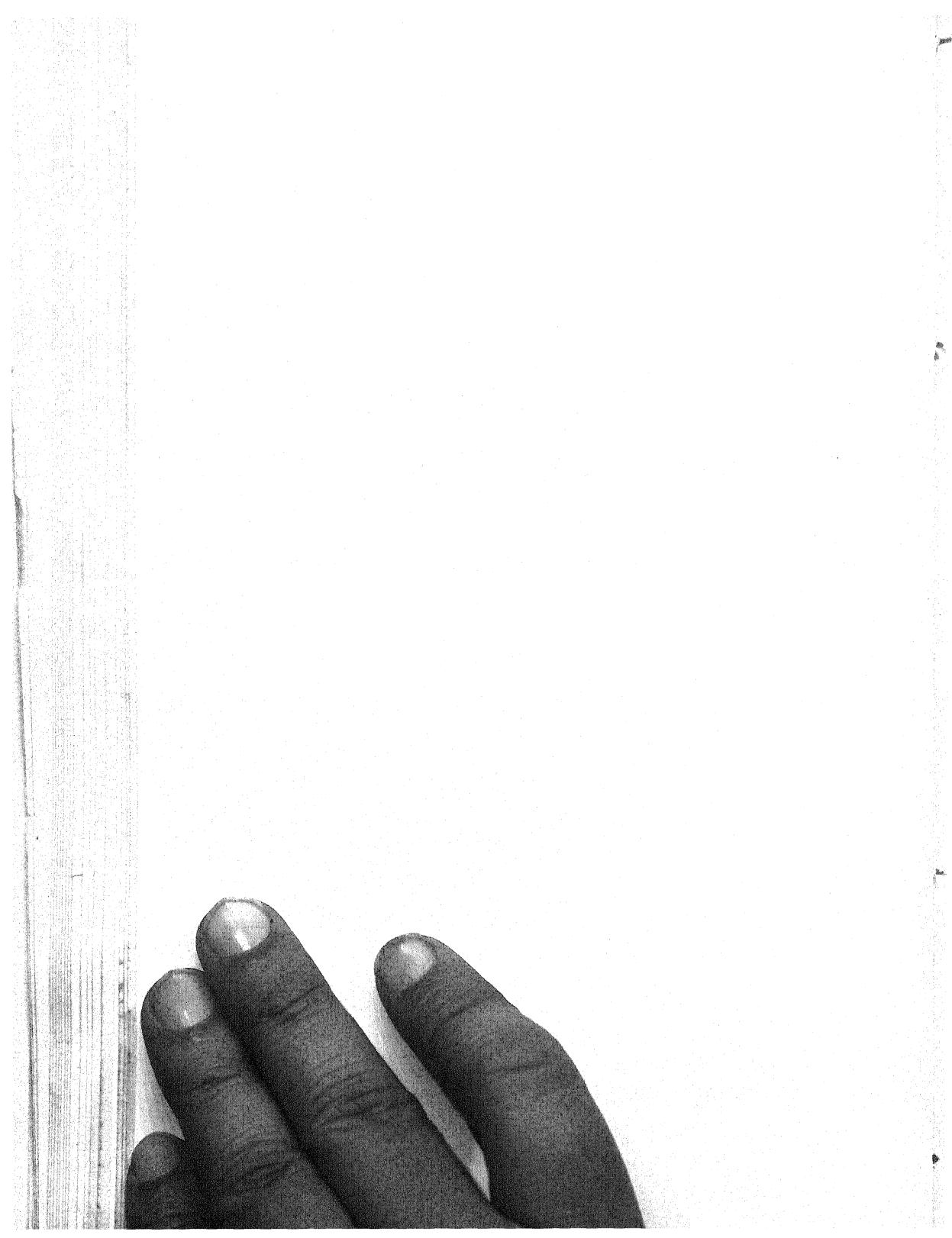
There appears to be a general consensus of opinion among those who have availed themselves of opportunities of observing the position of the snout at considerable intervals of time, that of late years the Pindari Glacier has been receding. Seventy years ago the upper névé could be reached comparatively easily from a side glacier by a col (Schlagintweit 17,770). The glacier has now so far retreated that the upper snow-field is practically inaccessible from the col, whereby the difficulty of the passage of Traill's Pass has been greatly increased. In 1898, our old friend Mr. Pringle Kennedy remarked that he thought that the snout had receded half a mile since he had visited the glacier in 1880. In 1915, Kunwar Sheo Singh, Tahsildar of Almora, observed that during the last five years the glacier had perceptibly receded, and that it was cutting deeper into its bed. In 1926, Mr. Canning, whose observation is to be trusted, remarked that the snout had receded 200 yards since 1912. The extension of the upper snow-field, which made it easy of access for Traill, may have been due to abnormal falls of snow in the earlier years of his administration. It is surprising to read in his first account of Kumaon that snow ordinarily remains on the northern slopes of the outer range, which culminates in the peaks of China (8,622) and Lariya Kanta (8,141), until the end of April; but in his account of the Bhotia mahals which he published in the seventeenth volume of *Asiatic Researches* he says that the interior of the Himalaya is daily becoming more inaccessible from the gradual extension of the zone of perpetual snow; and that the Bhotias point out ridges now never free from snow, which within the memory of man were clothed with forest and afforded pasture. He goes on to remark that the great accumulation of snow on the summits has the effect of forcing down the lower level of snow, and with it the line of perpetual congelation, and that Laspa in the Gorīgāngā valley had been

recently rendered wholly unproductive for two years by a change of climate caused in this way by avalanches. If the state of the glacier in Traill's time was in part due to a succession of exceptionally heavy falls of snow, there has probably been since then a considerable shrinkage in the mass of ice; but the 'retreat' which has been observed in recent years need imply no more than that the glacier in the course of its continual erosion has come on a softer bed and cut deeper into it, continuing the process which has left the great moraines and created the plains of Hindusthan.

The glacier is reached by a path on the left bank of the Pindari river, on which the last mile-stone, three miles from Phurkiyā, marks 76 miles from Almora. Phurkiyā can be reached without tents; and a height of about 13,500 feet can usually be attained with ordinary boots and without equipment for climbing. Even here, nailed boots and an axe are desirable. The rocks which to the eye look merely wet will be found in the early morning to be covered with *verglas*: and an axe makes the passage over the steep hard frozen snow very much easier and quicker. Mr. Campbell Forrester has described in his *Four Weeks' Tramp through the Himalayas* how he slipped on one of these slopes when he visited the glacier; and although serious consequences were averted by the accident of his being held up by a bush after he had fallen some distance, it would have been better to have had an axe, when he would not have slipped at all. Indeed, one of the most common entries in the Phurkiyā log-book, running in one form or another throughout the volumes, is of regret for not having come up properly equipped, grieving over lost opportunities. It may be that the ordinary traveller expects too little, because the journey to Phurkiyā is made so easy for him. He leaves Phurkiyā, marching up towards the glacier, and suddenly he sees before him a prospect resembling that of the Bellavista in the Engadine. He goes a little farther, and he finds himself looking up the tributary Nandā Kot glacier, crowned by the great mountain, with snowy peaks and glaciers on each side of him, and regrets too late that he has not come equipped for travelling or climbing in the mountains.



The Pindari Glacier, tributary glaciers from Sundardhunga.



I have already described how Traill crossed the upper snow-field of the glacier, between 21,624 and 20,740, and descended by the Lwanl Glacier on the other side; and how he was followed in 1855 by Adolph Schlagintweit and in 1861 by Colonel Edmund Smyth. Sixty-five years were to go before the pass was again to be successfully attempted. Traces of the path which Traill made still remain on the right lateral moraine of the glacier, visible from the medial moraine. Traill and his successors followed the right bank up to a cave (14,180), whence Schlagintweit made his start at 2 A.M. on the 31st of May for the actual crossing, following a side glacier, and so reaching a col (17,700) whence they easily reached the upper snow-field. The crossing in Schlagintweit's time was not difficult until the descent to the Lwanl Glacier was reached; but Schlagintweit had difficulties also from the porters' terror of Nandā Devī, the dreaded Durgā, which must always be a very serious factor to take into consideration in any attempt to go high with local men.

In 1925, Mr. and Mrs. Ruttledge, with General Wilson and Major Carfrae, attempted to cross the pass from the Phurkiyā side. They crossed the glacier to the right bank, about a mile above the snout, camped at Schlagintweit's cave, and arrived at the col from which Traill had reached the upper snow-field. They found that the retreat of the glacier had there made the névé inaccessible, and that the only way to it was by a steep cliff of rotten rock, about eight hundred feet high. Bad weather forced them to retreat; but Mr. Ruttledge thinks that to have attempted the cliff with the porters which they then had would have been dangerous. In August of 1926, Mr. and Mrs. Ruttledge and General Wilson succeeded in crossing the pass from the Lwanl valley. General Wilson's account of the journey is to be found in the *Alpine Journal* of May, 1928. It is as easy to get moderately high on the Lwanl Glacier as on the Pindari; on each side the difficulties begin about a thousand feet below the pass. The party selected a steep rib of rock which ran up to the ridge of 20,740 which formed one side of the pass, high above it. Near the top they found the strata against them; and

they had to make a traverse of three hundred yards to reach the ridge, being fortunately able to chip away the edges of the lower slabs so as to produce an edge 'with the appearance of a closed book' which gave foot-hold. From the ridge they descended to the pass, whence they went south-west for a mile and a half, keeping over towards the base of 21,624, and so came to the head of the cliff, at the foot of which they had stopped in the previous year. The descent from the ridge (to quote General Wilson), is eight hundred feet of real abomination. It is composed of rock in every stage of decay and looseness; and to avoid dislodging the horrible stuff was almost an impossibility. The party got safely through; and when they reached Schlagintweit's col their troubles were over.

In October of 1930, having been driven back from the northern side of the Himālaya by bad weather, we ascended the Lwanl Glacier, with the idea of making a dash for the pass if conditions should be favourable. We had sent a second camp from Martoli, to be joined on the other side, in order to avoid the necessity of being accompanied by terrified porters. Given favourable weather conditions, the crossing would not thus be impracticable, in spite of the cold and the comparative shortness of the day. As we passed up the valley from Lwanl, the rock at Nar span Patti (13,200), under which Schlagintweit took shelter in his descent in 1855, stood out, with masses of cut faggots left near it, which would have been a welcome sight to anybody coming down the deserted Lwanl valley. Higher up, snow began to fall; and it was snowing hard before the tents were pitched. At the head of the Pindari Glacier and on Nandā Devi the snow must have been heavy, since we heard all night tremendous avalanches on the mountain, and on the following morning snow was standing out in great cornices at every bulge in the rocks approaching the pass. A black storm cloud stood over Nandā Devi, forming a background for the eastern peak, by which the lower ragged fringes of the cloud were concealed, and covering the western peak, over which a storm was evidently raging, moving in our direction. Less than a week earlier we

The Pindari Glacier (21624).





had learned on the Untadhurā what a blizzard might be like at these heights; and although it would have probably not been so bad in the comparatively sheltered Lwanl valley, it was sufficiently obvious that the upward route was barred, and that unless we promptly moved downwards towards Lwanl and the Gorīgāngā, we were likely to be very uncomfortable. While preparations for moving camp were being made, the sun broke through the clouds for a few minutes, shining on the great eastern peak, making the lighter clouds which veiled her lower slopes almost transparent, and giving an opportunity for the photograph which was reproduced in the last number of the *Journal*.¹ The scene was one of singular beauty, with the great black cloud forming a background for Nandā Devī; but an alternative caption for the picture might well have been found from Longfellow:

*Try not the Pass, the old man said,
Dark lowers the tempest overhead.*

During the present year (1932) Mr. Hugh Ruttledge spent the hot weather with the guide Emile Rey of Courmayeur, endeavouring to find a way through to the Nandā Devī basin over the shoulder of 21,624, to the east of the upper snow-field of the Pindari Glacier. The attempt was not successful, which may have been due to the abnormal weather conditions. There had been practically no winter snow during the previous cold weather; but from the beginning of May the weather was bad, and this, together with the effect of the new snow on the ice, made climbing more than usually difficult. But even when allowance is made for adverse weather conditions, the fact that two such experienced mountaineers failed to obtain even a sight of the basin must be held to indicate that this route is practically impossible.

¹ *Ante*, p. 128.

II.—Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son
Madhu-Kāvārṇadeva, dated 526
Ganga era.

By G. Ramadas, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, registered these plates as No. 5 of App. A. of his annual report for 1918-19. They were in the possession of Mr. Chilukūri Narayana Rao then. From what was given in the record, I found out that the plates were important to unravel the mystery enveloping the era of the Eastern Ganga Kings of Kalinga. I waited long for the publication of these plates, but it never happened. Despairing that such an important document would be neglected, I prepared this paper from the clear estampages supplied to me by the Madras Epigraphist's office.

The set consists of three copperplates each measuring 7" by $2\frac{3}{4}$ " and in each plate is a hole $\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter near the left side. The edges seem to have been beaten in to raise them into rims, so that the writing might not be damaged. Consequently, the writing is in good preservation. The plates seem to have been strung on a ring which I have not seen, but I shall quote here what the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy had noted with regard to it. 'The ring has a diameter of about 3". Its ends are fixed into the thick ornamental bracket at the bottom of the seal which is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. On the surface of the latter are carved in hollow, the sun, the crescent and the dagger in the slanting position at the top and below these a seated bull on a platform facing the proper right with an *ankusa* in the vertical position in its front. The seal is shaped like a small bell from the bracket supporting it.' The total weight of the plates, ring and seal is said to be 188 tolas.

The inscription is written on the inner sides of the 1st and the last plates and on both sides of the second. The characters are mostly Nāgari, but there is a mixture of Oriya letters

also, e.g. ए, ओ, ग, श, ख, ण, प and फ all through the inscription. More than one form is used for some letters, e.g. for *na* three different forms are used. cf. l. 1 पुरान्; l. 7 नन्; l. 20 स्त्रशान्. Similarly for *ra* cf. l. 29 रेवन्; राजत्; cf. य in पुच्; l. 6 विपुल्; l. 7 भूपाल्.

The language is Sanskrit ; but there is a sprinkling of Oriya words in the end. l. 23 चुनगोठि a dilapidated one ; l. 23 गाड़ि=a brook ; l. 29 पोड़ाभूद्=a waste land ; l. 32 देहशत्=1½ hundred ; राजत्=a soldier ; l. 20 वड़ि in वडनन्दि. The scribe did not pay any regard to the rules of Sandhi; in certain places whole expressions are left out. All such mistakes are corrected in the transcribed text by means of footnotes.

This charter is of the reign of a Gaṅga King, Madhu-Kāvārnna and it begins in the same way as the grants of the earlier Gaṅga Kings, just as if it were meant to record a grant by that king himself.

‘ Om ! Hail ! From the victorious camp of Kalinganagara, which, charming with the delights of all seasons, resembles the town of the immortals—the son of Sri man Anantavarma Deva and the ornament of the spotless family of the river of the gods (सुरसरित् कुलामलतिलकः), the Mahārājādhirāja Madhu-Kāvārnna Dēva who is freed from the stains of Kali age by doing obeisance to the two lotus-feet of the holy Gokarna Swāmin, the parent of the movable and the immovable, the unique architect who has constructed the whole world (the god) with the moon for his crest jewel, who is installed on the summit of the spotless golden hill of Mahēndra, in the many caves contained in the stomach of which inhabit the famous tāpasās (hermits) who had achieved *siddhi* (the King) whose feet are made lustrous by the rays of light shed by the crest jewels of many rulers whose heads were bent by his valour and who had subdued all his enemies by (such means of) prowess (as) the five-fold sounds.’

Then instead of recording some command of the King so described, the inscription in ll. 10–12 tells us that, in the reign of this King, the lord of Pattiāpura in the Tristhali (situated) in the west of the flourishing Triśala in the region of Kalinga, Śri man Śri Lakshmana Ramadēva, who was the very

embodiment of Bhairava in torturing the enemies by the bewildering five-fold sound which he had achieved and who was the ornament of the Kuḍāla family (ll. 12-18) having combined the three villages of Patugrāma, Hondoro Vāda and Morakhini into (one) Vaiśya agrahāra, and having freed the village, including all land and water heads within the four landmarks, of all molestations from *rāṇakās*, *rājaputras*, district officer (*vishayapati*) and all those that are dependent on the royal feet for their maintenance, and also having ordained that it should not be entered into by the district officers (*chēṭa*) (the lord) conferred on Śri Erapa Nāyaka, the ornament of the spotless family of merchants and the son of *Paramamāhēśvara*. Śri Mañchi Nāyaka, the devout worshipper of the feet of his father and mother, who had originally come from Paṭugrama and resided at Dantipura.

Then the boundaries of the newly formed agrahāra are given in ll. 19-29. Perhaps the lands mentioned in ll. 28-29 were not included within the boundaries referred to above. They are, the field of 200 murayas (*left out*) for the maintenance of a charitable house (सत्र); the waste land of (the village) Dōli-mrga-pēnta; the farm of Rēvana Rātu in the Gōlipaṭala and the dry land of Apāvi.

Ll. 29-32 contain the usual imprecatory verses. Then again (l. 32) it is stated (both in words and figures) that one hundred and fifty (150) silver coins were paid; but to whom it was paid it is not stated.

The date of the grant is given in l. 33. It is written in figures as 526 of the prosperous victorious era of the (family of) the Gangas.

The writer of the grant (ll. 33-34) was Madhusudana, son of Madhava and an inhabitant of Kalinganagara. The scribe's land is said to be 40 murayas. Akshaśāli Ranāma dictated it (l. 35).

The word *muraya* requires some explanation. It appears to denote sum unit of grain measure. The same unit is mentioned in the Chicacole plates of Satyavarmadēva.¹ The

¹ I.A., Vol. XIV, pp. 11 ff.

Chikkālavalasa plates of Vajrahastadeva III¹ mention *mura* as a unit of measurement. But the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahastadēva III² call this measure by the name of *muraka*. Both *muraka* and *muraya* seem to have been derived from *mura* which means an encircling with wood³ or some material. A thing made of an encircling wood or metal is in Sanskrit called *muraja*. In Telugu and Oriya parts the same name is applied both to the grain measure and the solid part of a drum (मूर्ज). In Oriya it is called ମାୟ. Similarly ମୁର୍ଜ might have been a common name both for the encircling part of the drum and the grain measure. *Mura* and *muraka* were used probably in Kalinga. In Oriya there are two separate symbols for the palatal and the gutteral 'ya'; the former is pronounced almost like 'ja' in the beginning of a word or syllable, e.g. यस्य of Sanskrit becomes ଯସ୍ୟ in Oriya mouths यୋ ହରେତି consequently is written as ଯୋ ହରେତି; at the end of a syllable or word य retains its original sound. So the Sanskrit word *muraya* becomes *muraja* in Oriya.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, Kalinganagara has been identified with the modern Mukhalingam. The other places cannot be identified now. So the Tristhali and Triśala cannot be identified at present.

The date of this grant is important. Because this is a charter in which the name of a King is similar to the one given in the Kaliṅga Gaṅga genealogies and the date is given in the Kaliṅga Gaṅga era. Thus both by synchronism and by astronomical calculations, can be discovered the date when the *Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Śaka* was begun. The date of the grant is given in the words, 'Ganga Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Samvatsara ankēnāpi 526, i.e. the 526th year of the Gaṅga era which is the same as is found in all the ancient grants of the Kaliṅga Kings.

This grant, by stating that the Gaṅga King Madhu-Kāvārnna was ruling in the year 526 of that era, offers to us a clue, surer than palaeography, to establish with the help of mathematics, the year when the era had been started. The

¹ Bhārati, Vol. II, part 2, pp. 138 ff. ² E.I., Vol. IX, No. 11.

³ Sanskrit Dictionary by H. H. Wilson.

name of the King mentioned in this grant is similar to some of those stated in the genealogies supplied to us by the charters issued by the Gaṅga Kings of the 11th century of the Christian era. One Madhu-Kāmārnava is said to have reigned on the throne immediately before *Trikalīṅgādhipati Anantavarma Vajrahastadēva*. In all the Kaliṅga genealogies this Madhu-Kāmārnava is stated to have reigned for 19 years and then *Trikalīṅgādhipati Anantavarma Vajrahastadēva* ascended the throne in S.S. 960. This Madhu-Kāmārnava seems to have reigned from S.S. 942 to 960. Consequently the 526th year of the present document must be one of the years of this period.

Dr. Fleet who always sought to establish facts on more precise basis than on paleography and synchronism only, which are merely suggestive, laid out a plan to discover, with mathematical exactitude, the first year of the Gaṅga era. In editing the Parlakimidi plates of Indravarma¹ dated 91st year of the Gaṅga era, he said, 'The clue to the date may perhaps be found in the record in l. 10 of the grant of the year 128, of an eclipse of the moon on the *full-moon day* of the month of *Mārgasīra*. This (eclipse) coupled with the record in l. 19 of the present grant, that in the 91st year of the era, the month of *Māgha* included 30 solar days—which is not always the case—may very possibly enable us hereafter, by means of detailed calculations, to determine precisely which of the eclipses mentioned is the one intended.' Here he laid out a plan to discover the origin of the era with the help of the astronomical occurrences recorded in the several grants. By the word 'hereafter', Dr. Fleet hoped that more grants recording the eclipses or other astronomical occurrences might be brought to light,—and so it happened. Subsequently many copperplate grants of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings have been discovered and some of them record astronomical occurrences, which, taken as landmarks, may lead to the original point of starting. All such records together with the two noted by the doctor are given below in their chronological order that they may be easily available for reference.

¹ I.A., Vol. XVI, 1887.

1. The Kaliṅga grant of Indravarma¹ records a lunar eclipse that had occurred on the full-moon day of Margaśira. The charter is dated 15th Chaitra 128th year. The recorded lunar eclipse had occurred on the full-moon day of the month of Margaśira of 127 (Gaṅga era).

2. Tekkali plates of Dānārvā's son Indravarma,² dated 154th year (Gaṅga era) record a solar eclipse.

3. A solar eclipse is recorded in the Kaliṅga grant of Dēvēndravarma,³ dated 251st year (Gaṅga era).

4. A solar eclipse is recorded in the Alamanda plates of Rajēndravarma's son Anantavarma,⁴ dated 304th year (Gaṅga era).

5. A solar eclipse is recorded in the Chicacole plates of Satyavarma,⁵ dated 351st year (Gaṅga era).

6. A solar eclipse is recorded in the Chiḍivalasa copper-plate grant of Dēvēndravarma,⁶ son of Bhūpāndravarma dated 397th year (Gaṅga era).

¹ I.A., Vol. XIII, pp. 119 ff.

² E.I., Vol. XVIII, No. 31.

³ I.A., Vol. XIII, pp. 273 ff.

In the original plates the date is given as fifty-one in words only; but from the characters both Fleet and Kielhorn doubted the truth of it. I may here quote what the editor of the grant has said (I.A., Vol. XIII, p. 273).

'These three grants of Dēvēndravarma and Satyavarma are shown, by the characters in which they are engraved, to be of later date than the three grants of Indravarma. Consequently, the fifty-first year, which is quoted in one of the grants of Dēvēndravarma and in the grant of Satyavarma cannot be referred to the same epoch with the dates of 91, 128, and 146. From this it is clear that the grant of the Dēvēndravarma of the 51st year cannot be assigned to the first or the second centuries of the Gaṅga era.' Though the father of Satyavarma of the Chicacole plates of the 351st year (Gaṅga era) was a Dēvēndravarma also, yet he cannot be identified with the Dēvēndravarma of the plates dated 51st year. For, father and son could not have issued a grant for the same solar eclipse of the same year and two solar eclipses in a year are very rare. This Dēvēndravarma of the 51st year may be the same as the Dēvēndravārma of the Vizagapatam plates, dated 254th year (Gaṅga era). So I take the year 51 to be a mistake for 251.

⁴ E.I., Vol. III, No. 3.

⁵ I.A., Vol. XIII, pp. 11 ff.

⁶ J.A.H.R.S., Vol. II, pp. 146 ff.

These are the eclipses recorded in the charters. In addition to these the ephemeral records also may be culled from some of them. They also serve as guides to lead us to the point of origin.

7. The Parlakimidi plates of Indravarma¹ show that in the 91st year of the era, the month of Māgha (*solar*) included 30 days. This is a rare thing.

8. The Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarma² dated 183rd year records a gift on the 8th tithi of Māgha when the sun was proceeding northwards (मावसास्युदगयने) and the document having been engraved on 20th Śrāvana 183, the date of the gift must have been in the previous year, i.e. the 8th tithi of Māgha of the year 182 of the Gaṅga era. The word ‘udagayanē’, shows that the ceremonies connected with the turning of the sun to begin his northward march were done on that 8th tithi of Māgha of the year 182. Ordinarily, ceremonies are performed on the 7th tithi of Māgha because the sastras prescribe them. It is an unusual thing and it is not in accordance either with *śastras* or custom to perform any ceremonies on the 8th tithi of Māgha. Religious performances are prescribed for the 7th tithi which is called the *Rathasaptami*, *Viśoka-saptami* and also *Śarkarāphala-saptami*. It is considered to be as auspicious as a *solar eclipse* ‘*Śurya-grahaṇa tulyā-tu śuklā māghasya saptami*’.³ That the custom of observing the *Māgha-saptami* ceremonies was in vogue amongst the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga is vouchsafed by the Kaliṅga grant of Indravarma, dated in the year 138 of their era. It records a gift on the 7th *tithi* of Māgha. It is not, therefore, customary to make any gifts on the 8th *tithi* of Māgha. It shows that the gifts or charities were made at the time when the 8th tithi became current. ‘The general rule for civil purposes, as well as for some ordinary religious purposes for which no particular time of day happens to be prescribed, is that the tithi current at sunrise on a solar day gives its name and numeral to that day, and is coupled with its week-day.’ And

¹ I.A., Vol. XVI, 1887.

² E.I., Vol. III, No. 21.

³ Nirnayasindhu.

also, 'At the time of the performance of religious ceremonies the current tithi, *vāra*, and all other particulars have to be pronounced'.¹ Considering in this light, the date of the gift recorded in the document intimates that the 8th tithi was current at the time of sunrise on that day and also that the 7th tithi of Māgha of that year had disappeared from the calendar. 'A tithi on which the sun does not rise is expunged . . . and it is called a *Kshaya*'.² On the previous day the 6th tithi was current at the time of sun-rise; and the 8th tithi became current from the time of sunrise on that day on which the gift was made. The *saptami* tithi began and ended during the intervening period. Such saptami is said to be more auspicious than the one that has individual recognition.

पूर्वक्षिणी ब्रह्मिकाद्वयं षष्ठी सप्तमी च परेद्युः ।
क्षयवशादरुणोदयात्पर्वम् समाप्तते तत्परम् ॥
इति षष्ठीयुतत्वसुक्तम् । तत्र षष्ठां सप्तमीक्षयम् ।
प्रवेश्याऽरुणोदये स्वानङ्गार्थम् ॥ (मदनरत्ने, भविष्योत्तरे)³

The 6th tithi should be current for about two ghatikas (after sunrise) on the previous day; and then the 7th tithi should commence and naturally by diminution, must expire before the dawn of the next day. Thus the 7th tithi is said to be combined with the 6th (madanaratna and Bhavishyōttara).

It is essential to bathe on the 7th tithi when it is current at dawn (*arunodaya*).

सूर्यग्रहणतुल्या तु शुक्ला मासस्य सप्तमी ।
अरुणोदयवेलायां तस्यां स्वानम्भवाप्तलम् ॥
(चन्द्रिकायां विश्ववचनात्)⁴

It is said in Vishnuvachana mentioned in Chendrika, 'The 7th tithi of the bright half of Māgha is equal to a solar eclipse. To bathe at dawn when it is current gives great (good) result.'

¹ The Indian Calendar, p. 17.

² The Indian Calendar, p. 18. Readers that wish to know more regarding the tithi and their recognition in Hindu religious ceremonies may read art. 31, p. 16 of the Indian Calendar by Sewell.

³ Nirnayasindhu.

⁴ Nirnayasindhu.

So a Kshaya 7th tithi as pointed out above was current at the dawn only before the next sunrise. At sunrise the 8th tithi began and the gift recorded in the grant was stated to have been given on the 8th *tithi* though it had been intended for the 7th *tithi*.

The 7th tithi of the bright half of Māgha of the year 182 (Gaṅga era) must be *Kshaya*.

With the help of these eight-recorded events we can carry on detailed calculations on the years of the period of the Madhu-Kāmārnava's reign and may arrive at the year when the era began. It has already been shown that this Madhu-Kāmārnava VI reigned from S.S. 942-960. One of these years may correspond to the 526th year of the era. If so, the era must have begun in one of the years between S.S. 416-434.

1. The 127th year of the Gaṅga era must correspond to one of the years from S.S. 543 to 561. But the lunar eclipse of the full-moon-day of Margasira happened only in the years S.S. 546, 547, and 548 of this period. The other years are given up.

The initial year corresponding to each is S.S. 419, 420, and 421.

2. The solar eclipse recorded in the year 154 of the era, must happen in one of the years S.S. 573, 574, and 575. But in 574 there was no solar eclipse. Deleting it we get the two years S.S. 573 and 575 in each of which there was a solar eclipse. The initial year corresponding to each of these is S.S. 419 and 421.

3. The solar eclipse recorded in the year 251 must be seen in either S.S. 670 or 672 each of which is 251 years from each of S.S. 419 and 421. There was no solar eclipse in the year S.S. 670 nor was there one in S.S. 672.

By applying these three tests we could not get even one year that could satisfy the conditions. So not even one year of the period of Madhu-Kāmārnava VI corresponds to the year 526 of the Gaṅga era. Consequently the Madhu-Kāvārnna of our plates cannot be identified with the Madhu-Kāmārnava VI of the genealogies.

Who can this Madhu-Kāvārnna of the charter under review be? As he bears all the panegyric of the Kings of the Gaṅga family and as he is said to be the Maharājā of the Gaṅga family, he must be one of those mentioned in the genealogies given in the copperplate grants of Anantavarma Chōdagaṅgadeva and his grandfather.

The Vizagapatam copperplate dated Śaka year 1040 of Anantavarma Chōdagaṅgadeva,¹ mentions, in the genealogy five Kings of the name of Kāmārnava and one of Madhu-Kāmārnava; though the last had a qualifying appellation of 'madhu' he is counted as the sixth along with the other previous Kings of the name of Kāmārnava. Again in the Vizagapatam copperplate grant dated S.S. 1057² of the same sovereign this Madhu-Kāmārnava is mentioned with the simple name of Kāmārnava. The son and successor of Anantavarma is mentioned as Kāmārnava VII as well as Madhu-Kāmārnava.³ From these observations it can be established that all the Kings that bore the name of Kāmārnava had the affix of *Madhu* to their names.

The Kshētramāhātunyam of Mukhalingam gives all the tradition connected with the place and its temple. It is in nine chapters and each of which is said to have been a part of the Skāndapurāṇa. The colophon which closes the last chapter may be cited here to vouchsafe the statement.

“ इति श्रीखान्दपुराणे उत्तरश्चग्ने स्कन्दागस्य-संवादे जयन्तौ-
क्षेत्रमाहात्म्ये भविष्यत्वाधार्यानन्नाम नवमोऽथायः ॥ ”

The story given in this 9th chapter, closely coincides with the statement made in lines 60-63 of the Vizagapatam copperplate, dated Śaka year 1040. This portion of the Skāndapurāṇa cannot be allotted to times subsequent to S.S. 1040. Since the fact that the tradition of the birth of Iśa in the linga form from a *madhūka* tree is mentioned in the above grant, the *purāṇa* that recorded the tradition must have existed long before the time of the charter.

The earliest inscription existing in the temple of Mukha-

¹ I.A., Vol. XVIII, pp. 165 ff.

² I.A., Vol. XVIII, pp. 172 ff.

³ S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 1322.

lingam is dated in Śaka year 980. In it the god is mentioned by the name of Madhukēśa, a name which contains in itself the tradition regarding its origin. This inscription is of the time of Trikalingādhipati Anantavarma Vajrahastadēva who was crowned in S.S. 960. So the tradition (*purāṇā*) must have been in existence even prior to S.S. 960.

In this *purāṇa*, it is said,

धरण्यामस्ति सर्वेषाम्भुजानां सदासप्दम् ।
पद्माणं कटकाभिरुणं जनानां सर्वसौख्यदम् ।
तत्पद्मे महातेजो विश्ववर्धनपूर्वकः ।
मथकर्णं गचाधीशो महादेवो महाबलः ।
गङ्गाचयसमुद्रतस्वर्वप्राप्तविघाशः ॥

It is further stated that this Madhu-karna, born in the Gaṅga family got the temple built out of the gold rained from heaven by the command of god Īśa. Sculptors and architects, as dexterous as Viśvakarma, were employed to build the temple and the city.

In this *purāṇa*, this King born in the Gaṅga family is spoken of as a 'gajādhīśa' (lord of elephants), a title not seen expressed in words in any of the copperplate grants. Yet, it may be observed that one Gaṅga sovereign had earned the fame of giving away elephants in charity. In the Vizagapatam copperplate dated Śaka year 1040, it is thus stated with regard to Vajrahasta IV :—

1. 72. *yad-datta danti sahasra.*

1. 73. *dāna-vāriṇa cha kuvalayam pañkilam=āśit.*

The same sovereign is thus eulogised in the Vizagapatam copperplate dated S.S. 1057.

1. 12. *yō madagalita-galān=gajāna (n)
sahasram=arthibhyah samadāt.*

If Vajrahasta IV had not possessed a great number of elephants, how could he have earned the fame of the giver of elephants. So it is not a wonder if he was called a 'gajādhīśa'. This title does not seem to have been confined only to him. The elephant-goad shown on the seals of the Gaṅga Kings is a clear indication that they were the lords of elephants. Even

though this title is not included in the panegyric, yet the existence of the elephant-goad in the seal establishes the title of 'gajādhīśa' to the Kings of the Gaṅga family. The 'ankuśa' shown in the seal affixed on the ring of the present charter proves that the Gaṅga King Madhu-Kāvārnna was a 'gajādhīśa'.

In the *purāna* the builder of the temple was named Madhukarṇa; but the Vizagapatam copperplates dated S.S. 1040 name the same King, Kāmārnava. In the copperplate under review the name is written as Madhu-Kāvārnna. For exigencies of poetry, a syllable is omitted in one; scribe's negligence might have missed the last syllable in the present charter. Whatever might have been the correct form, it is a fact that the builder of the temple of Madhukēśa, had the prefix of 'madhu' to his name. For, the temple and the linga in it generally are named after their founder. The linga at Dākshārāma is called after Chalukya Bhima, its founder. Tradition says that the linga at Rāmēśvaram has been established by Rama of the Ikshvāku family and it is believed to suggest the name of its founder.

That the linga at Mukhalinga is called Madhukēśa shows clearly that its founder had the word Madhuka in his name. It is also known that some of the Kings of the Gaṅga family appended the word 'arnava' to their names. The names ending with 'arnava' are so common that the epigraphists were led to suggest that there were two sets of kings, 'varma' and 'arnava' amongst the Gaṅga Kings. The name of the founder seems, therefore, to have been Madhuka + arnava¹

¹ मधुकः—Sweet speaking (H. H. Wilson); अर्णवः—Ocean. मधुकः+अर्णवः—मधुक + उ + अर्णवः (visarga preceded by उ (short) and followed by ए (short) is changed to औ which with the preceding उ is changed to औ). So we get मधुकौ + अर्णव or मधुकोर्णव. But the writer changed औ to औव and wrote मधुकार्णव (व). The King's name, like Guṇārnava (an ocean of good qualities); Dānārnava (an ocean of charities) is Madhukavārnava (an ocean of sweet speech). By mistake or wrong conception the first two syllables were dropped and Kāvārnava was changed to Kāmārnava (an ocean of desires) which does not convey that dignified meaning as is conveyed by the names Guṇārnava and Dānārnava. In Madhukāvārna when the first two syllables are dropped, Kāvārna remains; and then 'वा'

which becomes Madhukāvārnava. This is written as Madhukāvārna in the charter and Madhukarna in the *purāṇa*. These two records seem to be contemporary to the founder of the temple. But in later times the first word is dropped and the Kings were given the name Kāmārnava. From the inscriptions found in the temple of Mukhalingam, the Gaiga Kings seem to have had great regard for this god till the time of Rājarāja II (S.S. 1092-1114. *Vide* No. 1142, S.I.I., vol. v). The absence of inscriptions subsequent to S.S. 1114 shows that the temple and its god became neglected. Till this time we find that some of the scions of the Gaiga family were named after the Madhukēsa. But after S.S. 1114 the faith of the Kings was transferred to the god Narasimha or to the Sun-god at Kōnārk. This is the reason why we find the Kings after S.S. 1114 were named either Narasimha or Bhānu. It is the faith of the man that generally makes him give names to his offspring. So amongst the Kings of the Gaiga family, prior to S.S. 1114 are found the kings named after the god at Mukhalingam. From this discussion it can be observed that all the Kings named Kāmārnava in the genealogies really bore the name of Madhu-Kāmārnava. Now we have to identify the Madhukānārnava of the present grant with one of the so-called Kāmārnavas of the genealogy. This identification must be made only by seeing by detailed calculations into which of the periods of reign of these Kāmārnavas will this year 526 exactly fit in.

But before the detailed calculations are carried out, it is first necessary to express in Śaka years the period of reign of

is changed to ‘mā’ to give it a sense. The name Madhu-Kāmārnava given in the genealogies to the predecessor of Trikaliṅgādhipati Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva means ‘an ocean desiring liquor’ which is not an honourable one. Madhukah+arnavah gives a more honourable idea than Madhu+kāmah+arnavah. So Madhukārṇa which is the correct grammatical form of Madhukāvārna appears to have been the name of the Kings mentioned by the name of Kāmārnava. As such, the important part of the name ‘Madhuka’ is taken to name the linga form founded by the King. Madhuka+isa=Madhukēsa, is the name of the god found in the inscriptions. The puranic name ‘Madhukarnah’ is made of Madhukah+arnah which means water (arnah: अमरोर्पस्त्रोदयनीरस् Amara-kosā) of sweet speech. The medial ā is shortened for metre.

each King and the basis for this is supplied to us by the regnal years of each King given in the genealogies. The charters of the time of Vijrahastadeva begin the genealogy from Gunamahārnava and some of the time of Chodagaṅga are almost a copy of the charters of his grandfather. But the Vizagapatam copperplate grant of S.S. 1040 traces the pedigree from Kāmārnava I; it omits Vajrahasta III but introduces two Kings, Jitāṅkuśa and Kaligalaṅkuśa in his place. By this change there arose a difference in the regnal years so much that the total period of all the Kings has fallen short by 24 years. When the period of reign of each King is expressed in Śaka years and the calculation is taken backwards from S.S. 960, the year of the coronation of *Trikalingādhipati* Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva, a discrepancy of 18 years is felt. Then in addition to this, there is the peculiarity of the regnal years specially in vogue in the Kaliṅga of the Gaṅga Kings.

The peculiarity of the system was first observed by Babu Manomohan Chakravarti while writing the chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa.¹ This is called the *aṅka* or *samasta* system. Sewell also in his Hindu calendar speaks of this system. The peculiarities of this system are given below:—

1. 1 and all figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10) are omitted.
2. The last *aṅka* year of one King and the first *aṅka* year of the succeeding King (i.e. 2) fall in the same year.
3. The year begins on the day of Suniya, Simha (Bhādrapada) Śukla Dwādasi.

When this system became adapted in the Kaliṅga cannot be said now. Babu M. M. Chakravarti's Chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa begins from the time of Chodagaṅgadēva. Such a complicated system could not have come into vogue all on a sudden. It could not have developed even in one or two generations.

2. The stone inscriptions² of the time of *Trikalingādhipati* Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva at Mukhalingam give the date in

¹ J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXII, No. 2, pp. 97 ff.

² S.I.I., Vol. V.

regnal years. The inscription No. 1133 states that the charity recorded therein was made during the 35th year of the King. There is discrepancy in the copperplate grants. Two Vizagapatam grants assign 33 years while the one dated S.S. 1040 give only 30 years to this Vajrahastadēva. The 39 regnal years give 33 in actual figures. This shows that the *ānka* system was in vogue during the time of the grandfather of Anantavarma Chōdagaṅgadeva. Consequently the years given against the name of each King mentioned in the genealogy given in the charters of Vajrahasta V are all according to the *ānka* system.

3. The Mandasa plates of Anantavarmadēva¹ dated in Śaka year 913 give the regnal year according to the *ānka* system, e.g. *samasta pandraro* 15.

From these evidences² it may be inferred that the *ānka* or *samasta* system had been in vogue in Kalinga from times

¹ Above Vol. XVII, pp. 175 ff.

² Some scholars are rather reluctant to admit that the regnal years given in the genealogies were calculated according to the *ānka* system. They put forth as an argument that Kāmārnava V is said to have reigned only for half-year and that according to the *ānka* system it ought not to have been so. Those that have till now made a study of the characteristics of the system nowhere mentioned that half-year should not be mentioned. The *ānka* year begins on the 12th day of the bright half of Bhādrapada. Sewell observes, 'it is also important to note that when a prince dies in the middle of an *ānka* year, his successor's 1st *ānka* which commences on his accession to the throne, does not run its full term of a year, but ends on the 11th day of Bhādrapad-śuddha following; consequently the last regnal year of the one and the first of the other occupy one year and the one year is dropped in effect'. If a King ascended the throne after 12th Bhādrapada-śuddha had passed, and died after a few months before the next month of Bhādrapada had reached, how could his period of reign be counted. As he was not on the throne on the preceding 12th day of Bhādrapada-śuddha that year goes to be counted in the period of his predecessor; because he did not live till the next beginning of the *ānka* year, that year is calculated in the period of his successor. So he naturally loses his *locus-standi* though he was on the throne for some months. The *ānka* system does not preclude a part of a year from calculation. Such might have been the case with Kāmārnava V. Had he lived till after the beginning of the *ānka* year, his period of reign would have been counted as two. But that did not happen. So his regnal period is expressed as half-year, that he might not lose his place

unknown. If more copperplate grants of the ancient Kings of the family are discovered in future, more evidence for this can be gathered.

With these preliminary observations, I prepare a table showing the period of each King in Śaka years. The regnal years of each King are first reduced to actual number of years and the first year in the reign of a King is taken to be last of his predecessor.

List of the Kings of Gaṅga family showing the period of each in Śaka years.

GENEALOGY GIVEN IN THE VIZAGAPATAM PLATES, DATED S.S. 1040 OF ANANTAVARMA CHOPA-GAṄGADEVA.

Name of the King.	Regnal years (aṅka).	Actual number of years.	Period of reign in Śaka years.
1. Kāmārnava I	36	30	718-747
2. Dānārnava ..	40	33	747-779
3. Kāmārnava II ..	50	41	779-819
4. Raṇārnava ..	5	4	819-822
5. Vajrahasta II ..	15	13	822-834
6. Kāmārnava III ..	19	16	834-849
7. Guṇārnava II ..	27	22	849-870
8. Jitainkusā ..	15	13	870-882
9. Kaligalām-kusa ..	12	10	882-891
10. Gundama I ..	7	5	891-895
11. Kāmārnava IV ..	25	21	895-915
12. Vinayāditya ..	3	2	915-916
13. Vajrahasta IV ..	35	29	916-943
14. Kāmārnava V ..	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	943-944
15. Gundama II ..	3	2	944-945
16. Madhu-Kāmārnava VI ..	19	16	945-960

GENEALOGY MODIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NADAYĀM PLATES OF TRIKALIṄGĀDHIPATI ANANTAVARMA VAJRHAHASTADEVA (V).

Name of the King.	Regnal years (aṅka).	Actual number of years.	Period of reign in Śaka years.
Kāmārnava I ..	36	30	700-729
Dānārnava ..	40	33	729-761
Kāmārnava II ..	50	41	761-801
Raṇārnava ..	5	4	801-804
Vajrahasta II ..	15	13	804-816
Kāmārnava III ..	19	16	816-831
Guṇārnava II ..	27	22	831-852
Vajrahasta III ..	44	36	852-887
Gundama I ..	3	2	887-888
Kāmārnava IV ..	34	28	888-915
Vinayāditya ..	3	2	915-916
Vajrahasta IV ..	35	29	916-943
Kāmārnava V ..	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	943-944
Gundama II ..	3	2	944-945
Madhu-Kāmārnava VI ..	19	16	945-960

amongst the Kings that had ruled over the Kalinga. It is not against the *aṅka* system to give a fraction of a year for the period of a King of this kind of reign.

The last year of the reign of Madhu-Kāmārnava VI was the year in which Vajrahasta V was crowned King.

From the above two tables it may be observed that there is much difference in the reigning periods of Kings from Kāmārnava I to Kāmārnava IV; and that Kāmārnava I reigns from S.S. 718-747 in one and from S.S. 700-729 in the other. Such discrepancies can be found with regard to other matters also in these sets of copperplate grants. Vajrahasta V, the grandfather of Anantavarma Chōdagaṅga is said to be the son of Madhu-Kāmārnava VI in the Vizagapatam copperplate grant of S.S. 1040 of Anantavarma Chōdagaṅgadēva; while the other plates state that he was the son of Kāmārnava, the eldest son of Vajrahasta (IV). The presence of such discrepancies, in these plates, show that they are not very reliable documents, but may be accepted as guides to work out the historical truths connected with the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. Consequently, the period of the reign of any King in the list may be taken to begin with the earliest year and end with the last year; i.e. the reign of Kāmārnava I begins in Śaka year 718 in one and in Śaka year 700 in the other; similarly his reign ends in Śaka year 747 and in Śaka year 729 in the second. So Kāmārnava I may be supposed to have ruled from S.S. 700 to 747 making a compromise between the data.

It has already been shown that every king named as Kāmārnava in the list, really bore the name of Madhu-Kāmārnava. From amidst these six Kings that bore the name of Madhu-Kāmārnava we have to discover the one into whose reign the year 526 of the Gaṅga era fits; for that purpose we have to carry on detailed calculations on the period of each of these Madhu-Kāmārnavas. Since we have already tested the years of the rule of Madhu-Kāmārnava VI and have failed, it may be now given up and detailed calculations may be carried on the years in the period of the reign of each of the remaining Kings of that name. The fifth King of that name may also be omitted as he had not reigned even for one full year. We shall take up the period of reign of Kāmārnava IV. His reign seems to lie between S.S. 888 and 915. If this King be really the Madhu-Kāvārnna of our plates, the year 526 of

the Gaṅga era must be one of the years between S.S. 888 and 915.

Then the beginning of the era may be found between S.S. 362 and 389.

1. The 127th year of the era may be found between S.S. 489 and 516.

As it is said that a lunar eclipse¹ had occurred on the full-moon day of Margaśira month of the 127th year of the era, we have to pick up those years only, during the Margaśira month of which there was a lunar eclipse and reject the others.

On the full-moon day of the month of Margaśira of S.S. 500, 501, and 510 only there was a lunar eclipse. Since each of these three years bear the qualification to be accepted as the 127th year of the era, that era must have begun in one of the years S.S. 373, 374 or 383.

2. In the 154th year of the era, a solar eclipse is mentioned. So the 154th year from each of the above is S.S. 527, 528, 537; but there was no solar eclipse in the last. So we have still the two years S.S. 373, 374 for the initial year of the era.

4. A solar eclipse is mentioned in the year 304 of the era. So 304th year from each of these is S.S. 677 and 678. In the first there was no solar eclipse. Since there happened a solar eclipse in S.S. 678 we obtain S.S. 374 as the initial year for the present.

6. A solar eclipse is mentioned to have occurred in the year 397 of the era. So the 397th year from 374 is 771 but no solar eclipse occurred in this year. Consequently the year S.S. 374 cannot have been the beginning of the Gaṅga era. So, the year 526 cannot be one in the reign of Kāmārnava IV.

Similarly, detailed calculations are carried on the years in the regnal period of Kāmārnava III and it is found that not even one year of his period was suited to be the 526th year of the Gaṅga era. I now propose to work in detail on the years of the reign of Kāmārnava II.

¹ All these calculations are in accordance with Sewell's Indian Calendar and Swami Kannu Pillai's Indian Chronology and Prof. Jacobis' Tables.

Kāmārnava II, S.S. 761-819.

One of the years of this period may be the 526th year of the era. Then the beginning of the era must be in one of the years between S.S. 235 and 293.

1. A lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of the month of Mārgasira of the year 127 of the era is recorded. If the beginning of the era existed between S.S. 235 and S.S. 293, then the 127th year of the era must be sought for between S.S. 362 and S.S. 420. But the said lunar eclipse is found in the Mārgasira of S.S. 370, 371, 380, 389, 398, 416, 417, 418.

Corresponding to each of these the initial year is 243, 244, 253, 262, 271, 289, 290, 291.

2. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 154 of the era. The 154th year from each of the above initial years is 397, 398, 407, 416, 425, 443, 444, 445, but there was no solar eclipse in the year 398. So the corresponding year 244 cannot be the initial year of the era. The years 243, 253, 262, 271, 289, 290, 291 still remain.

3. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 251 of the era. The 251st year correspondingly is 494, 504, 513, 522, 540, 541, 542. Amongst these there was no solar eclipse in the year 504. So the year 253 cannot be the beginning of the era. The other years still remain.

4. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 304 of the era. The 304th year from each of the remaining initial years is 566, 575, 593, 594. The years, in which there was no solar eclipse of the 304th year, are scored off. So the years that still remain as initial years are 262, 271, 289, 290.

5. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 351 of the era. The 351st year from each of the above initial years is 622, 641. The years scored off show that there was no solar eclipse. Still we have to choose the initial year from 271 and 290.

6. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 397 of the era. The 397th year from each of the above two years is 668, 687. There was no solar eclipse in the year 687. A solar eclipse happened in 668. So the one year 271 remains for the initial year and we shall see if it satisfies the other tests.

7. The solar Māgha in the 91st year of the Kalinga era is said to have 30 days.

91st year from 271 is S.S. 362. In this year the sun entered *makara* at 28 gh 48 v.gh on the 18th December and entered *Kumbha* at 55 gh 48 v.gh on 16th January.

Since the entrance into *makara* was before sun-set on the 18th December, 18th December was the 1st day of the solar month and the 16th January was the last day of it. Consequently 14 days of December and 16 days of January make up the 30 days of the solar *Māgha* month of the year S.S. 362.

The year S.S. 271 satisfies this condition also.

8. The 7th tithi of the bright half of Māgha in the year 182 was Kshaya, which is also very rare.

182nd year from 271 is S.S. 453. In this year in the bright half of the month of Māgha, the 6th tithi ended at Ogh. 36 v.gh (Lanka time) after sunrise on the 31st December; then the 7th tithi began. Yet that whole day was reckoned as the 6th tithi. The 7th tithi ended at ogh. O. vgh. (Lanka time) on the 1st January, i.e. ended before sunrise on the day succeeding 31st December. When the sun rose the 8th tithi began and consequently, the whole of 1st January became reckoned as the 8th tithi. So the 7th tithi lost its reckoning and therefore was Kshaya. Since the 7th tithi of the month of Māgha of the year, S.S. 453 was Kshaya, the year S.S. 271 satisfies this condition also.

Thus the year S.S. 271 satisfies all the eight recorded occurrences. It must be the year in which the Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya era of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty was begun. This year will certainly satisfy the recorded occurrences that may come to light in future, provided those records are correctly read and interpreted.

Since the beginning of the Gaṅga era is now discovered to have begun in the Śaka Samvat 271, the date 526th year of the Gaṅga era corresponds to the Śaka Samvat 797. In this year was reigning on the Kaliṅga throne Mahārājādhirāja Madhu-Kāvārnadēva (Kāmārnava II of the Vizagapatam plates) and he was the son of Anantavarmadēva.

A copperplate grant under the name of 'the Simhapura copperplate grant of the Kadamba King Dharmakhēdi was recently published in the *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. III, pp. 171ff. The original is now preserved in the Calcutta Museum from which I obtained a clear impression of the document. It states that Dēvēndravarma, son of Anantavarma, and the sovereign of the whole Kalinga was reigning at Kalinganagara in the year 520 of the Kadamba-Gaṅga Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Śaka. This charter is only 6 years earlier than the charter above discussed and both the charters belong to the reign of the same Kalinga sovereign. The copperplate record under review states that Madhu-Kāvārnna was the son of Anantavarma and the Simhapur plates state that Devēndravarma was the son of Anantavarma. Consequently, Madhu-Kāvārnna appears to have borne the imperial title of Dēvēndravarma. Here is another instance to prove that the son and successor of an Anantavarma was called Dēvēndravarma.

From these two sets of plates it becomes evident that Mahārājādhirāja Dēvēndravarma Madhu-Kāvārnnaadeva ruled over the Kalinga during the period from 520 to 526 of the Gaṅga era or from S.S. 791 to S.S. 797 or from A.D. 869 to A.D. 875-76.

TEXT.

First plate.

1. खस्ति॑ [॥*] अमरपुर[।] नुकारिणा॒ [स्त*] सर्वं (त्तुसु) खरमणौ-
या॑ [त*] विजयवतो॒ [कलिङ्गन*]-
2. गर्वासकात् प्रसिद्धसिध्ध॑ तापस[।*] ध्यासितकन्दरोदरदरि-
महेन्द्राचलामलक-
3. नक(गि॑)रिधिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य च(र)। च॒ [र*] गुरो॑ [स्त*] सकल-
भुवननिर्माणैक-

¹ Before this there is spiral sign.

² Read .वतः

³ Read प्रसिद्धसिध्ध

⁴ The originally inscribed is beaten in and this letter is again written; it is not quite clear.

4. सुच्र^१धार स॒प्राङ्गंचूडामणे भर्गवतो गोकर्णस्तामिनस्त्रशक-
5. मलयुगलप्रणामादपगतस्तकलकलङ्गो गङ्गाम-
6. लकुलतिलक[पू*]श्रीमा^३ अनन्तबच्छ^४देव तातस्य पुत्रो विपुल-
7. विक्रमानतानेकभूपात्मौ[लि*]मणि म०(रौ?)चि(का)रञ्जि-
[त*]पादपद्मयुगलः
8. विमलचित्तार्चितस्तरणिशिपाशेषा^७ नपञ्चपूर्वदिप्रताप [र*]
सुरस-

Second plate: First side.

9. शित्कुलामलमहाशाजाधिराज[पू*]श्रीमा[न*] मधुकावार्सदेव
[:*]कुण्ठलि[॥]कलि-
10. झमण्डल प्रतिवधा चिखलिपाञ्चात्यात्तसि चिच्छलि०पाञ्चापुर-
परमे-
11. श्वर[ः*]समधिगतपञ्चमहापूर्वतिमिल०परसोषेणप्रत्यन्त^{१०}भैरव
[पू*]श्रीमा[न*]
12. कुमालवश^{११}कुलतिलक [पू*]श्री[म*]क्षम्यगरामदेव[ः*]पट्टगि-
ग्रामे-
13. यस दन्तपुरवात्तथ वैश्यकुलवड्ग [पू*]श्रीमच्छिनाय [र*]त-
14. स्य सुतु[ः*] परममाहेश्वर[ो*] मातापितृपादानुध्यात यरप-
नाथक
15. स्य पट्टग्रम होण्डरवडो मोरखिणो चयग्रा[म*] समेत वैश्यच-
16. ग्रहारक्तिवा^{१२} सप्रदत्तमिति^{१३}[।*] राणकशाजपुत्रविषयप्रति सम

¹ Read सूत्र

² Read शशाङ्गचूडा

³ Read श्रीमान्

⁴ Read ओरम

⁵ Read देवः तस्य

⁶ Read मणिम्

⁷ From विमल to शेषा the line is obscure.

⁸ From प्रतिवधा to चिच्छलि is another obscure line.

⁹ Read तुसुल

¹⁰ Read प्रत्यन्त

¹¹ Read कुमालवश

¹² Read ग्रहारक्तवा

¹³ Read सम्प्रदत्तमिति

Second plate: Second side.

17. ल्लराजपादोपजौविना¹ चतु[स्त] सौमावच्छिनसजलस्थल सर्व-
पौड़ावाधविवर्जित²
18. अचटभटप्रवेशा³चन्द्रार्कच्छिति समकाल ॥ अत्र सिमालिङ्गानि
कथ्यन्ते[—*]
19. पूर्वेणैव डेला⁴मार्गंगता तिन्तृणि चय । आभ्रेयदिशाया[म्*]
टकुटराज-
20. पथगर्ता इमशान गाड़ अइक्षा⁵ । तिमिरवृक्षयोव⁶र्वडनन्दि-
वृक्षरो
21. पितॄश्चिल तिन्तृणि चय वापिकापालि ॥ इक्षिणि⁷दिशाया[म्*]
पव⁸तिसि-
22. खर[:*] नैरिक्ष⁹दिशाया[म्]गर्ता श्चिलः । पञ्चिमदिशायाम-
(पञ्चेन)गर्ता-
23. श्चिल[:] वायव्यदिशाया[म्*] चुनगोडि¹⁰कुपो[!] उतर¹¹
दिशायम् ॥ लुज्जलुहा गाड़ प-
24. लंतदोणि द्वहत्पर्वतउतर¹²दोणि द्वयपर्वतमध्ये दोणि गर्ता
25. वापिकापालि अस्वथवृक्ष[:*]गर्ता नन्दिवृक्ष[:] कदम्बवृक्ष[:*]
तिन्तृ[णि*]

¹ Read ऊविना समाह्रथ समाज्ञापयति । चतुसौमावच्छिन्न etc.

² Read ऊविजितः

³ Read after प्रवेश, भूमिच्छिद्रापिधान्यायेना चन्द्रार्कच्छितिकालं यावत्

⁴ Read देला which means crooked.

⁵ The word is obscure—perhaps it is intended to be अनौत्य

⁶ Read यावत्

⁷ Read इक्षिण

⁸ Read पर्वत

⁹ Read नैरिक्षति

¹⁰ Read चुनगोडिकूपः

¹¹ Read उत्तर

¹² Read उत्तर

PLATE I.



Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇadeva,
dated 526 Gaṅga era.

J. B. O. R. S., 1932.



PLATE II (Reverse).



Chiccole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇadeva,
dated 526 Gaṅga era.

J. B. O. R. S., 1932.

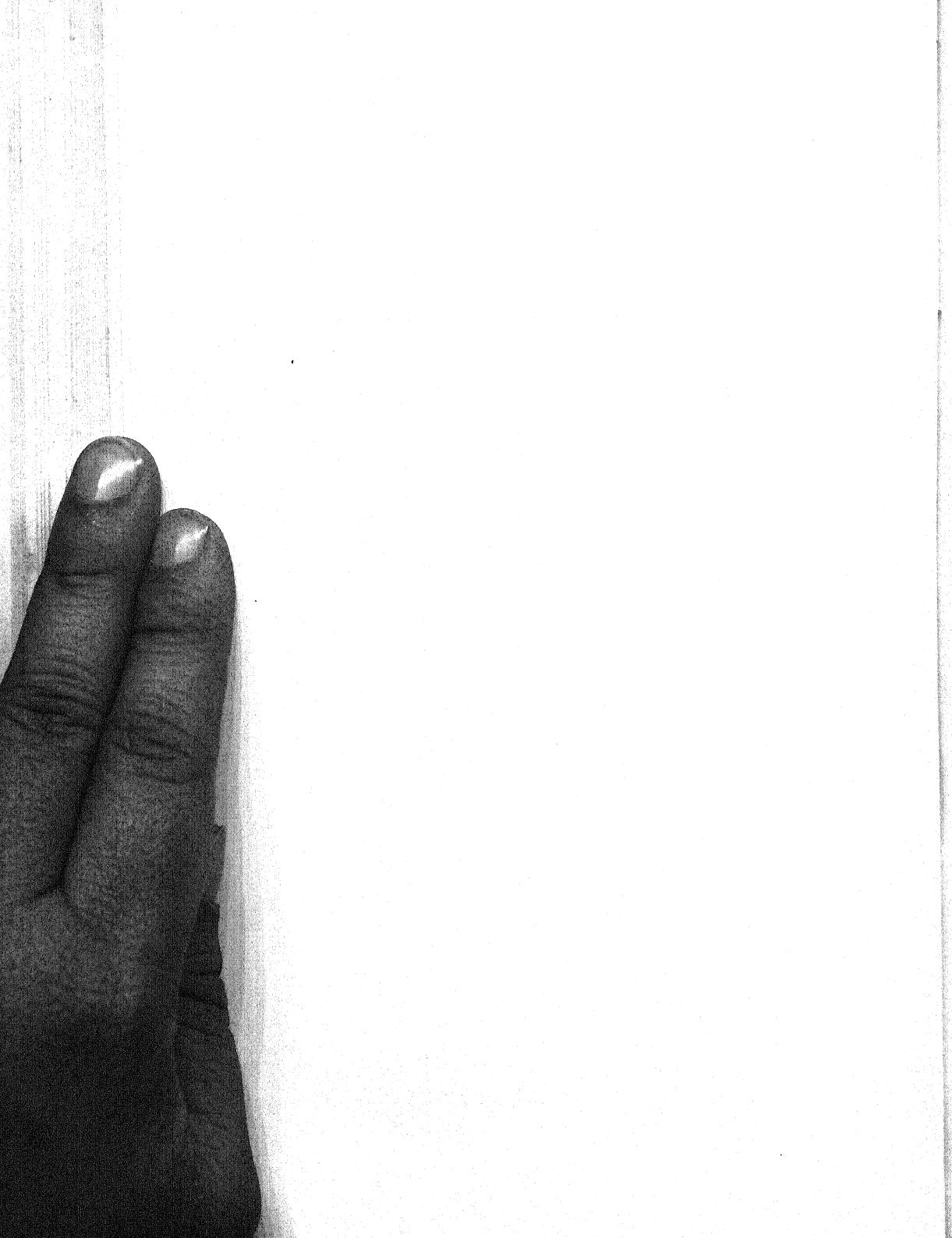
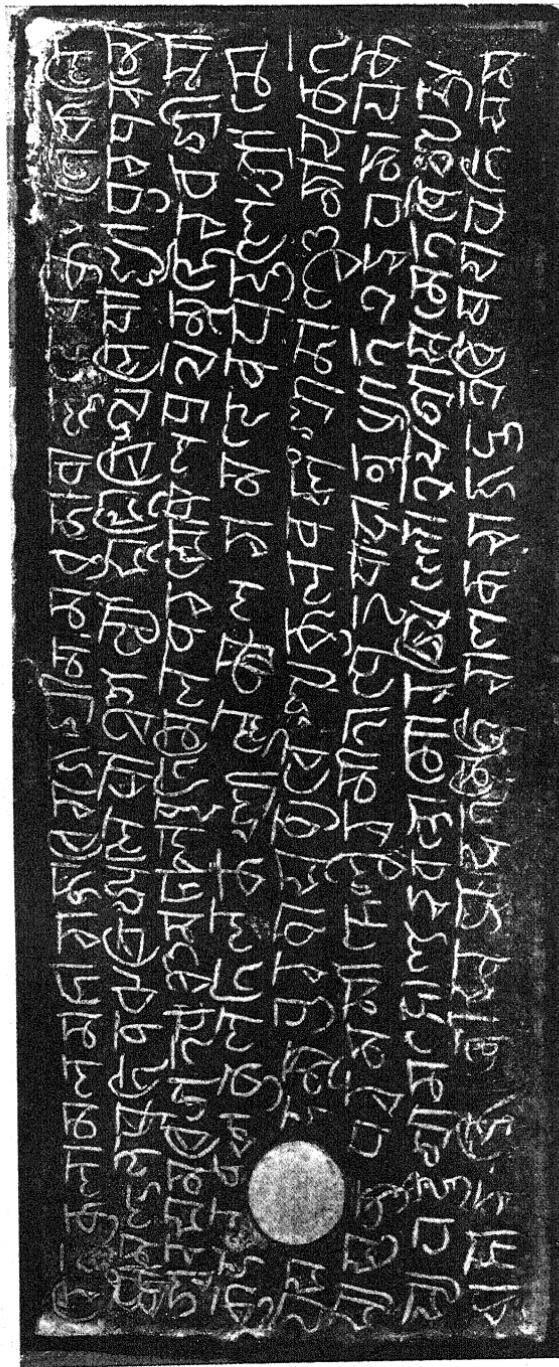


PLATE II (Obverse).

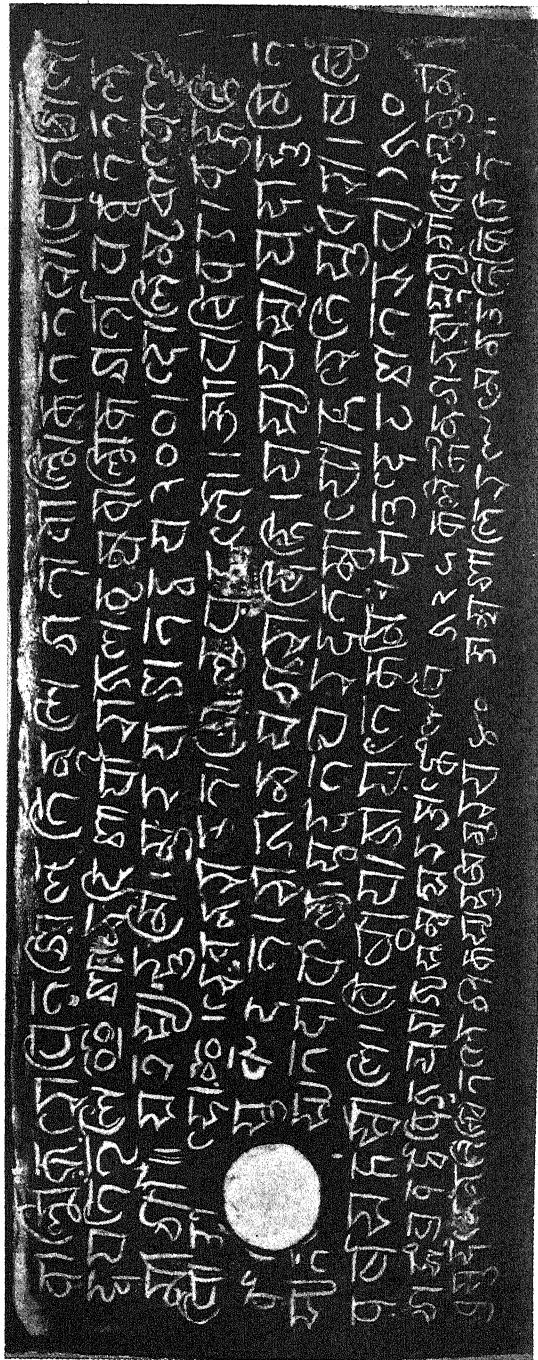


Chicacole Plates of Anantavarma deva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇadeva,
dated 526 Gaṅga era.

J. B. O. R. S., 1932.



PLATE III.



Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārīnadeva,
dated 526 Gaṅga era.

J. B. O. R. S., 1932.



Third plate.

26. वल्मी^१करोपितश्चिल तिन्तुणि गर्ता वल्मी^२क[ः] तत^३रोपित-
शिला
27. द्वयतिटणि[।*] ईश्वरा[न] दिश्वाया[म्*] राजण वृक्ष[ः] वाल्मी^४क
[ः*] गर्ता पर्वततल
28. मार्गा ॥ सत्रस्य सुमि । सुरय प्रतदय २०० । दोलिस्त्रगवेणट^५
29. पोड़ा भोइ ॥ रेवन रा[उ]त । गोलुपठले ॥ आपचि पड़ ।
वज्जभि-
30. वंसधादता^६ राजान[स्त्र] गरादिभि[ः*] यस्य यस्य यदा सुमि
[रु*] त
31. स्य तस्य तदापल[म्*] सदता^७ परदतम्बा यो हरेति [व*] सु-
[ः*] धरा[म्*] । बहिं
32. वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ट्रायां जायते कृमिः । दात्त देट प्रतरूप्य १५०
33. गङ्गप्रवर्द्धविजयराज्यसम्पत्स्तर^८ अङ्गेनापि ५२६[*] कलिङ्ग-
नगरवास्तव्य[मा] धवसुतु^९[ः] म-
34. धुसु^{१०} दनेन लिखित[।*] लेखकस्य सुमि^{११}[ः*] सुरय ४०
अक्षश्वालि रणामेन उतिकिरित[म्^{१२}] ॥

1 Read वल्मीक

2 Read वल्मीक

3 Read ततो

4 Read वल्मीकः

5 Read ०पेण

6 Read ०दत्ता

7 Read ०खदत्तापरदत्त

8 Read ०त्प्राणि

9 Read ०क्षतुः

10 Read ०धुसु

11 Read ०सुमि:

12 Read उत्कीरितम्

III.—On the extent of Harṣa's Empire.

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The problem of the extent of the Kanauj Empire under Harṣa has been a frequent and fruitful source of controversy. Indeed, the subject has received so much attention that one may well wonder if there is any further room for discussion. But I venture to say that the investigations of a number of scholars like Dr. R. K. Mookerji,¹ Dr. R. C. Majumdar,² Mr. N. Ray,³ Mr. C. V. Vaidya and others, though quite helpful, are far from being the last word on this knotty question. I, therefore, propose to discuss it in this paper, taking into consideration the following pertinent points :—

- (a) The limits of Harṣa's paternal kingdom of Thanesvar, which he inherited after the assassination of Rājyavardhana ;
- (b) The extent of the Maukhari dominions, which came under Harṣa after his seat of Government was transferred to Kanauj⁴ ;
- (c) The territorial acquisitions of Harṣa as a result of his campaigns and conquests ;
- (d) Yuan Chwang's testimony regarding the political status of the countries he visited, and the relations they bore to Kanauj. I now proceed to deal with them one by one.

A.

The kingdom of Thanesvar, which had a modest beginning, appears to have been augmented to a certain extent, both in

¹ *Harṣa* (Rulers of India Series), Chapter II, p. 22 f.

² *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1923, p. 311 f.; also see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, V, 1929, pp. 229–236.

³ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Dec., 1927, pp. 769–93.

⁴ See my article on the 'Early position of Harṣa' in the Malaviyaji Commemoration volume, pp. 261–76.

territory and influence, under Prabhākaravardhana, as he is the first to be called Mahārājādhirāja in the family inscriptions (e.g. the Madhuban plate). The *Harṣacarita* calls him 'a lion to the Hūṇa deer, a burning fever to the king of the Indus land, a troubler of the sleep of Gujarat, a biliary plague to that scent-elephant the lord of Gāndhāra, a looter to the lawlessness of the Lāṭas, an axe to the creeper of Malwa's glory'.¹ This passage, although significant as regards the different powers existing at the time, however, hardly warrants our concluding, as has been done by Mr. C. V. Vaidya,² that these states had been actually conquered and annexed by Prabhākaravardhana. On the other hand, there is evidence that the 'Hūṇa deer,' instead of being overawed and cowed, was trying to pounce upon the 'lion' himself, for towards the close of his reign the kingdom was seriously disturbed by the Hūṇa menace, and Prabhākara had to dispatch the crown-prince at the head of a strong force to cope with the danger. Hence making allowance for exaggeration, it appears that in the above passage we have only a poetical description of Prabhākara's excellence and greatness as compared with the other contemporary rulers.

According to Bühler,³ Prabhākara's possessions did not go beyond the limits of the kingdom of Thanesvar, described by Yuan Chwang, which, as Sir Alexander Cunningham⁴ suggests, probably included portions of Southern Panjab and of Eastern Rajputana. 'A State, the circuit of which amounted to 7,000 *li*, or 1,200 miles, might exercise a considerable influence, keep its neighbours in fear, and afford to a very talented king the means for greater conquests'.⁵ We may thus conclude that the North-Western Frontiers of Thanesvar were limited by the Hūṇa territories in the Panjab. In the east, it was conterminous

¹ Translated by Cowell and Thomas. See 1897 Edition, p. 101.
Hūnahrinakesari Sindhurājavarō Gurjaraprajāgarah Gāndhārādhīpa-hastijvaro Lāṭapatavapatachcharo Mālava Lakshmilatāparasuh (Calcutta Edition, pp. 243-4).

² *H.M.H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 1 f. See also Dr. R. K. Mookerji's *Harṣa*, p. 11, where Prabhākara is said to have attained the position of an Emperor.

³ Ep. Ind., I, p. 69.

⁴ *Ancient Geo. of India*, p. 328 (Cunningham's Edition).

⁵ Ep. Ind., I, p. 69.

with the Maukhari kingdom of Kanauj; and on the west and south it probably did not go much beyond the Rajputana desert.

B.

Although it is difficult to fix the limits of the Maukhari jurisdiction during the zenith of their power with any considerable degree of certainty, a consideration of the provenance of coins and inscriptions of the dynasty, along with their internal evidence, will help us to some extent to lift the obscurity that hangs over this problem.

To begin with the coins, some of them were found in Ahichchhatra, a few miles to the north-west of Kanauj¹; and others were procured at Ayodhya. Sir Richard Burn has further discussed a large hoard of Maukhari coins that was discovered in Bhitaura in the Fyzabad District of the United Provinces.²

Two seals were discovered in Nalanda³; but as the 'lower right quadrant with about half the writing is lost,' we cannot say definitely to which reign they belong.

The Jaunpur (U.P.) inscription⁴ records some achievements of Īśavaravarman, but if one reads it carefully it would appear that they do not refer to any of his actual conquests, but merely to his bold stand against the enemies' aggressions.

Next, the Haraha inscription found in the Bara-Banki District (near Lucknow) of the United Provinces,⁵ mentions Īśānavarman's victories over the Andhras, the Śulikas, and the Gaudas, who, according to Mr. N. G. Majumdar 'were all compelled to accept his sovereignty'.⁶ But a close perusal of the inscription hardly justifies our drawing this conclusion. It describes the Gaudas as being forced 'in future to remain within their proper realm,' which shows that they were only checked in the course of their aggrandizement. Besides, Īśānavarman could not extend his suzerainty as far as

¹ Arch. Surv., Rep. IX, p. 27. *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 136.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 843 f.

³ Arch. Surv. Rep., Eastern circle, 1917-18, p. 44.

⁴ Fleet's C. I. I., Vol. III, No. 51, pp. 228-30.

⁵ Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 110 f. ⁶ Ind. Ant., 1917, p. 127.

Gaudadeśa, when he had to bow to the steel of a king of an intermediate territory, viz. Kumāragupta, the later Gupta monarch of Magadha. Probably the Andhras and the Śūlikas were likewise the aggressors, and Īśānavarman's engagements with them were more or less of the nature of a successful trial of arms, no annexation of their territories or imposition of Īśānavarman's authority being implied.

Here we must also consider a seal that was found in Asirgadh in the Nimad District of the Central Provinces.¹ Its discovery at a place situated so far south should not, however, be taken as proof that Asirgadh was a sort of a 'Maukhari outpost' in the Deccan, as observed by Mr. Aravamuthan.² Fleet rightly points out that the mere finding of the inscription at Asirgadh of course does not suffice in any way to connect the members of this family of Maukharis with that locality. Their territory probably lay some hundreds of miles more to the east.³ Coins and seals, being small and portable, can easily be carried far away from the actual place of their origin. As an instance, we may observe that a seal of Bhāskaravarman of Kamarūpa or Assam was found in Nalanda, although it is known beyond doubt that this region was never included within his realm.

The Aphysad inscription⁴ further informs us that Dāmodara-gupta suffered a fatal defeat at the hands of a 'Maukhari' whom we identify with Sarvavarman. It also appears that probably the death of this Later Gupta king was followed by the annexation of Magadha—or at least its western parts—to the Maukhari dominions. The Deo-Baranark inscription⁵ lends welcome support to this theory, since it records the confirmation of a grant by two Maukhari rulers—Sarvavarman and Avantivarman—in the region of Arrah (Shahabad District).

Lastly, we may notice the testimony of the Nirmand inscription, found at a place almost on the bank of the Sutlej in the Kangra District of the Panjab.⁶ It mentions the grant

¹ Fleet, C.I.I., No. 47, pp. 219–221.

² *The Kaveri, the Maukhari, and the Sangam Age*, p. 97.

³ C.I.I., No. 47, p. 220.

⁴ C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 206.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁶ Fleet, C.I.I., p. 287 f.

of a Mahārāja Sarvavarman; and 'as we know of no other Sarvavarman of about this period,' says Mr. Aravamuthan, 'we may tentatively assume that the Maukhari Sarvavarman had been able to extend his dominions so far west in the course of his wars with the Hūṇas'.¹ The assumption, however, does not seem cogent. The Maukhari Sarvavarman is uniformly given the paramount titles of Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara in the dynastic records, whereas the Sarvavarman of the Nirmand inscription is a mere Mahārāja. Moreover, it would involve the supposition that the Maukharis exercised suzerainty over the intervening Vardhana dominions, and Prabhākara, who certainly was an independent king, had to fight against the Maukharis to wrest independence. Of this there is not a shred of evidence; but on the contrary the manner of description in the *Harsacarita* shows that both the powers were on very amicable and cordial terms.

Excluding Asirgadh and Nirmand, we may therefore summarily say that during its fullest expansion the Maukhari kingdom of Kanauj extended up to Ahichchhatra and the frontier of the Thanesvar kingdom on the West; to Nalanda on the East; on the North it may have touched the Tarai districts; and on the South it probably did not go beyond the southern boundaries of the present United Provinces.²

Now, we must bear in mind that Harsa, who was already king of Thanesvar by succession, became master of all these Maukhari territories also when he dexterously stepped into their shoes, although it may be possible that he had to fight again, and bring to subjection any unruly or malcontent parts that had seized the opportunity to assert themselves during the Gauda-Malwa disturbance.

C.

Regarding the conquests of Harsa, we do not again seem to stand on certain ground for want of definite details. We admittedly have some vague generalities in the accounts of the admiring Yuan Chwang, e.g. 'Proceeding eastward, he invaded

¹ *The Kaveri, the Maukhari, and the Sangam Age*, p. 93.

² See for a different view, *Ibid.*, pp. 96-101; C. V. Vaidya's *H.M. H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 39.

the states which had refused allegiance; and waged incessant warfare until in six years he fought the 'Five Indias' (according to the other reading: 'had brought the Five Indias under allegiance').¹ Again we are told: 'he was soon able to make himself *Master of India*. His renown was spread abroad everywhere'.² And lastly, speaking of Mahārāstra Yuan Chwang says: 'At the present time Śilāditya Mahārāja has conquered the nations from East to West, and carried his arms to remote districts'.³ But nowhere does the worthy pilgrim mention how, when, and what kingdoms were conquered by Harṣa.

Nor is the evidence of Bāna more helpful on this point. Unfortunately his account abruptly comes to a stop, and he does not even inform us how Harṣa proceeded against the Gauda king, who was the immediate object of his wrath. True, Bāna alludes to 'riders intently occupied in rehearsing the approaching Gauḍa war'.⁴ And the learned translators of the *Harsacarita* detect an indirect reference to the campaign in the concluding paragraph, in which 'the sunset is described in terms suggesting bloody wars and the fall of Harṣa's enemy, followed by the rising of the moon of Harṣa's glory'.⁵ But there are evidences—to be discussed below—which preclude our drawing any such inference. Śaśāṅka evaded Harṣa's grasp, and continued to flourish till a considerably late date.

We are further informed by Bāna that Harṣa, 'the greatest of all men, having pounded the king of Sindh, made his wealth his own',⁶ and also 'exacted tribute from an inaccessible land of the snowy mountains'.⁷ What these statements are worth, we shall consider in connection with the testimony of Yuan

¹ Watters, I, p. 323; Beal, I, p. 213.

² *Life*, p. 83.

³ Watters, II, p. 239; Beal, II, pp. 256-57.

⁴ Translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 209.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 250, note 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 76. 'Atra purusottamena Sindhurājai pramathyā lakshmirātmīyā kritā'.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 'Atra parameśvareṇa tuṣāraśailabhuvo durgāyā grahitah karah'.

Chwang regarding the status of the different kingdoms that he visited. Lastly, we may note the Imperial titles given to Harṣa, which may indicate his widespread power and suzerainty. Bāṇa calls him: 'king of kings, the lord of the Four Oceans, whose toe-nails are burnished by the crest-gems of all other monarchs, the leader of all emperors'.¹ Far from urging that these pompous expressions argue Harṣa's paramount status, we might say that these high-sounding titles were sometimes conventional among the courtly panegyrists, and were used in a very loose way.

D.

As the *Harṣacarita* stubbornly refuses to give any better clue to the suzerainty of Harṣa, we must now turn to our next guide, the indefatigable Chinese pilgrim, for help in unravelling the apparent indefiniteness of the power and influence of Kanauj over the surrounding territories. It may be noted here that the *Records* of Yuan Chwang are no political gazetteer. He came to India, defying the difficulties and hardships presented in his progress by both nature and man, on a mission that was primarily Buddhistic in its outlook and purpose. He makes only incidental references to the government of different States, and as such they are all the more valuable and trustworthy. We should, therefore, analyse the testimony of Yuan Chwang in conjunction with that of the *Life* and indigenous epigraphs; and try to deduce conclusions as to the extent of the kingdom of Kanauj under Harṣa after learning the exact political status of the territories of the north, which Yuan Chwang visited, or of which he had heard.

The illustrious pilgrim begins his description from Lan-po, although the countries described by him from Lan-po to Rajaur (Bajaur), both inclusive, were regarded by the inhabitants of India as 'borderlands', inhabited by 'barbarians', and not part of their territory. One of the most powerful kingdoms in the

¹ 'Devadevasya chatuhsamudrādhipateḥ sakalarājachakrachūḍāmaṇī
Sreṇī sana konakashana nirmalikrita-charaṇa-nakhamaneḥ sarva
chakravartināṁ dhaureyasya mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-Śri-Harṣa
devasya.' (Cal. Ed., p. 112.)

north-west was Kapisa with several dependencies, some of which were Lam-pa or Lan-po,¹ Nagar identified with modern Nungnehar,² Gandhāra,³ and Falana or Varana.⁴ We are unable to ascertain who was the king of Kapisa; but we are informed that he was a Kshatriya and an adherent of Buddhism. And as we are further told that 'his power extended over more than ten of the neighbouring lands,'⁵ we may be sure that he was a strong and an absolutely independent ruler.

The next kingdom of importance visited by Yuan Chwang was Kashmir, which held sway over many outlying lands, such as Takshaśila (modern Shah-Dher)⁶; Simhapura, identified with Narasimha or Ketas 'situated on the north side of the Salt Range'⁷; Wu-la-shih or Urasa, corresponding with modern Hazara⁸; Pan-ni-tso (modern Punch)⁹; Ho-lo-she-pu-lo or Rajauri.¹⁰ Unfortunately the *Life* and the *Records* are both silent regarding the name of the Kashmirian monarch, who treated the pilgrim with marked ceremonious respect, and 'gave him twenty clerks to copy out manuscripts and five men to act as attendants.'¹¹ The *Rājatarangini*, however, affords us a clue, for, according to Kalhaṇa, Durlabhavardhana, who inaugurated the Karkota dynasty, came to the throne in 3677 of the Laukika era, or 601 A.D. He ruled for 36 years, which makes him exactly contemporary with Harṣa and Yuan Chwang.

Dr. R. K. Mookerji tries to show on the supposed authority of the *Life* that Kashmir 'in a way acknowledged the suzerainty of Harṣa.'¹² To quote its testimony, we are told that 'Silādityarāja hearing that Kashmir possessed a tooth of the Buddha, coming in person to the chief frontier asked permission

¹ Watters, I, p. 181; Beal, I, p. 90.

² Watters, I, p. 183; Beal, I, p. 91.

³ Watters, I, p. 199; Beal, I, p. 98.

⁴ Watters, II, p. 262; Beal, II, p. 281. ⁵ Watters, I, p. 123.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 240; Beal, I, p. 136.

⁷ *Anc. Geo. of Ind.*, p. 125; Watters, I, p. 248.

⁸ Watters, I, p. 256; Beal, I, p. 147.

⁹ Watters, I, p. 283; Beal, I, p. 163.

¹⁰ Watters, I, p. 284; Beal, I, p. 163.

¹¹ Watters, I, p. 259.

¹² *Harsa*, p. 40.

to see and worship it'.¹ The congregation was unwilling to accede to this request, and concealed the tooth, but the king of Kashmir fearing the exalted character of Harṣa, had the tooth unearthed and presented to him. Then 'Śilāditya seeing it was overpowered with reverence, and exercising force, carried it off to pay it religious offerings'.² The episode, as narrated in the *Life*, will hardly bear the interpretation put upon it; and the expression that Śilāditya carried off the tooth by 'exercising force' probably means nothing more than that he brought it to Kanauj much against the wish of the people of Kashmir, who were even unwilling to allow Harṣa to see and worship the relic. There could be no question of any fight with the king of Kashmir, as the latter presented the sacred tooth to Harṣa of his own accord. Presumably a display of force, or a mere threat helped Harṣa to obtain the prized object; but any conclusions as to his authority being recognised in the valley are totally unwarranted.

We may here also consider a passage occurring in the *Rājatarangini*, which runs as follows:—

Idam svabhedavidhurau Harsādinām dharābhujām kañcit kālam abhūd bhojyam tataḥ prabhriti mandalam, i.e. 'From that period onwards this country, which had suffered from internal dissensions, was for some time subject to Harṣa and other kings'.³

Tempting as the identification might seem, this Harṣa should not be confused with the Harṣa of Kanauj, as has been done by Mr. N. Ray.⁴ Firstly, the 'chronological aberration,' as noted by Stein,⁵ should preclude any such supposition; and secondly, this Harṣa had a son, who is reputed to have ruled after him, whereas the Harṣa of Kanauj left no successor, and this was probably one of the reasons why the empire collapsed soon after his death. It would thus appear from the foregoing discussion that we have no grounds for believing that Kashmir owed allegiance to Harṣa.

¹ *Life*, p. 183; See also Watters, I, p. 279.

² *Ibid.*

³ Stein's Translation, Vol. I, Bk. II, verse 7, p. 56.

⁴ Ind. Hist. Quart., Dec., 1927, p. 780.

⁵ Stein's *Rājatarangini*, p. 56, note 7.

The pilgrim then proceeded to the *Cheh-ka* (Takka) country, lying between the Indus and the Pi-po-she (Beas). It is said to have possessed numerous *Pūnyāśālas*, or free rest-houses, where medicine and food were distributed, and where bodily wants and conveniences were looked after.¹ It had two dependencies, Mou-lo-san-pu or Multan,² and Po-fa-to,³ identified with Parvata (Pavvata). *Cheh-ka* was thus another flourishing kingdom outside the pale of Harṣa's jurisdiction.

She-lan-ta-lo or Jalandhara was the next great kingdom visited by Yuan Chwang. We are told of a king of this country, who learning Buddhism from an Arhat, became a zealous believer. Thereupon the king of 'Mid India', appreciating his sincere faith, gave him sole control of matters relating to Buddhism in all India. He also travelled throughout India, and erected stupas or monasteries at all sacred places.⁴ The king of 'Mid India' may or may not be identified with Harṣa, but it is certain that the latter did exercise some measure of influence over this kingdom, as we learn from the *Life*⁵ that he charged the king of Jalandhara (named Wuti=Wuddhi or Buddhi)⁶ to escort the pilgrim in safety to the frontiers.

Following the Chinese Master's itinerary as far as Nepal we find that he visited the following places, about whose governments he does not give us any particular information :—

I. *Ku-lu-lo*, corresponding 'with the position of Kullu in the upper valley of the Beas river.'⁷

II. *She-to-tu-lo*, or the Satadru country.

III. *Mo-tu-lo*, or Mathura.⁸

IV. *Sa-ta-ni-ssn-fa-lo*: identical with ancient Sthanisvara and modern Thanesvar in the Ambala district.⁹ Curiously enough, Yuan Chwang is silent as to its ruler, and makes no reference to the Vardhanas.

¹ Watters, I, p. 286; Beal, I, p. 167.

² Watters, II, p. 254; Beal, II, p. 274.

³ Watters, II, p. 255; Beal, II, p. 275.

⁴ Watters, I, p. 296; Beal, I, p. 176. ⁵ *Life*, pp. 189-190.

⁶ Watters restores the name Wu-ti or Wu-ti-to as Udito.

⁷ *Anc. Geo. of India*, p. 142.

⁸ Beal, I, p. 180 f.

⁹ *Anc. Geo. of India*, pp. 328-9.

V. *Srughna*: identified with the modern village of Sugh.¹ Yuan Chwang says that the capital was 'in a ruinous condition'.

VI. *Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo*, or Brahmapura.

VII. *Ku-pi-sang-na* (Govishana): according to Cunningham this 'corresponded very nearly to the modern districts of Kashipur, Rampur, and Pilibhit'.²

VIII. *Ngo-hi-chi-ta-lo* (Ahichchhatra): occupying the eastern part of Rohilkhand.

IX. *Pi-lo-shan-na*: identified with the ruins called At-ranjikhera on the Kalinadi.

X. *Kapittha* or *Sankasya*: identified with modern Sankissa.

XI. *A-yu-te*, or Ayodhya.

XII. *A-ya-mu-kha* (Hayamukha): represented by Daundia-kher on the northern bank of the Ganges.³

XIII. *Prayaga*, or modern Allahabad.

XIV. *Kosambi*: Dr. Vincent Smith thought that the Satna railway station marks its approximate position,⁴ whereas Mr. Dayaram Sahni identifies it with Kosam.⁵

XV. *Pi-sho-ka*.

XVI. *Shi-lo-fa-si-tu*: identified with Sravasti or modern Sahet-Mahet.⁶

XVII. *Rāma* or *Rāmagrama*: 'This had been waste and wild for a long time, and its area was not defined: its towns were heaps of ruins, and there was a very scanty population.'⁷

XVIII. *Kusinagara* or modern Kasia⁸: 'The city walls were in ruins, and the towns and villages were deserted.'⁹

XIX. *Po-lo-na-se* (Varānasi or modern Benares): 'The inhabitants were very numerous, and had boundless wealth, but they cared little for Buddhism.'¹⁰

¹ *Anc. Geo. of India*, p. 346. ² *Ibid.*, p. 357. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, p. 503 f. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 1927, p. 689 f.

⁶ See Vincent Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1900, p. 1 f., for a different identification.

⁷ Watters, II, p. 20; Beal, II, p. 26.

⁸ Arch. Surv. Ind., XVIII, Pref. and p. 55.

⁹ Watters, II, p. 26; Beal, II, p. 32.

¹⁰ Watters, II, p. 47; Beal, II, p. 44.

XX. *Fei-she-li*, or Vaisali.

XXI. *Fu-li-chih* (or the Vriji country): 'The chief city was called Chan-shu-na; it was in a ruinous state, and the old walled city, which was like a country town, had a population of over 3,000 families.'¹

Yuan Chwang, however, makes specific mention of the governments of the following territories that fell on his way from Rājapura to Nepal:—

I. *Po-li-ye-ta-lo*: Reinaud identifies this district with 'Paryatra or Bairat,' and Cunningham subscribes to this view.² We are told: 'The king, who was of the Fei-she (Vaiśya) stock, was a man of courage and military skill.'³

II. *Mo-ti-pu-lo* (Matipura): identified by Saint Martin and Cunningham with Madawar or Mandawar, a large town in Western Rohilkhand, near Bijnor.⁴ Yuan Chwang says: 'The king who was of the Sūdra stock, did not believe in Buddhism, and worshipped the Devas.'⁵

III. *The Suvarṇagotra country*: It was said to lie to the north of Brahmapura, and was called 'the Eastern Woman's Country', because it was ruled by a succession of women. The husband of the queen was king, but he did not administer the government.⁶

IV. *Kapilavastu*: The 'royal city' was a complete waste, and as the district had been left desolate for a very long time, it was only sparsely inhabited. 'The country was without a sovereign, each city having its own chief.'⁷

The next important kingdom mentioned by the Master of the Law is *Nepal* (*Ni-po-lo*), about which unhappily he has just a few words to say: 'The kings of Nepal were Kshatriya

¹ Watters, II, p. 81; Beal, II, p. 78.

² *Anc. Geo. of India*, p. 337.

³ Watters, I, p. 300; Beal, I, p. 179.

⁴ *Anc. Geo. of India*, pp. 348-49.

⁵ Watters, I, p. 322; Beal, I, p. 190; *Life*, p. 79.

⁶ Watters, I, p. 330; Beal, I, p. 199. This country is probably identical with the Suvarṇabhū in the north-east division of the *Brihat-Samhitā*, which Kern regards as 'in all likelihood a mythical land' (Ind. Ant., XXII, p. 190).

⁷ Watters, II, p. 1; Beal, II, p. 14.

Lichchhavis, and they were eminent scholars and believing Buddhists. A *recent king*, whose name is given as Ang-shu-fana or Amśuvarman had composed a treatise on etymology.¹ It has usually been assumed on the authority of Bühler, Bhagvan Lal Indraji,² Fleet, Vincent Smith, that Nepal came under the suzerainty of Harṣa; but this view has also been called to question by Sylvain Leví, Ettinghausen and others. The problem being so controversial, we must critically examine the available evidence before coming to any conclusion. To begin with the arguments adduced in support of Harṣa's conquest of Nepal:—

(a) Certain Nepalese inscriptions³ have been discovered, and among them there are some that refer to a king named Amśuvarman; these are dated in the years 34, 39, and 45. He is described in these inscriptions as a mere *Sāmanta* or *Mahā-sāmanta*; and since 'it is an indisputable axiom that nobody but an anointed king can initiate a Saṁvat of his own'⁴ Amśuvarman has been ruled out as a possible originator of the era in which they are dated. Yuan Chwang calls Amśuvarman a 'recent king'; and the characters of the inscriptions are also said to belong to the close of the sixth, or the early part of the seventh century A.D.⁵ Hence, the dates have with some plausibility been referred to the Harṣa era, as at this period it was 'in widest use'; and 'no other known Indian era can meet the requirements of the case.'⁶ Granting this circumstance, it necessarily implies the subordination of Nepal to Kanauj, for no other independent monarch would use the era started by another.⁷

¹ Watters, II, p. 84; Beal, II, p. 81.

² Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 411 f.

³ See Ind. Ant., IX, p. 169 f. Nos. 6, 7 and 8; Kielhorn's Nos. 531-33. The numbers quoted hereafter refer to the list of Indraji and Bühler, Ind. Ant., IX, p. 168.

⁴ Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 420. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 418. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

⁷ The following remark seems apposite here: If an Indian prince adopts a new foreign era, especially one founded by a contemporary, that may be considered as almost a certain proof that the borrower had to submit to the *Saka-kartri*, or establisher of the era (Ind. Ant., XIX, p. 40).

(b) That the Harṣa era was used in Nepal is further maintained on the evidence of inscription No. 15, dated Sañivat 153,¹ which states that Jayadeva's mother, Vatsadevi, was the daughter of a Maukhari prince or chief, Bhogavarmān, and the grand-daughter of 'the great Ādityasena, the illustrious lord of Magadha.' We know Ādityasena of Magadha from the Shahpur stone image inscription,² dated year 66 of an unspecified era, which 'from the known facts of Ādityasena's history is that of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj.'³ Now, the distance between this date and that of his grandson Jayadeva is 87 years, or slightly above the duration of three Indian generations, which amount to 78 years approximately.⁴ 'Under these circumstances,' it is asserted that 'it is not in the least doubtful that the great-grandfather and great-grandson used the same era,⁵ viz. that of Harṣa.

(c) The *Vamśāvali* informs us that immediately before the accession of Amśuvarman, Vikramāditya came to the country, and established his era there. It is argued that this statement preserves a reminiscence of Harsa's conquest of Nepal, as at this period the name Vikramāditya could have reference to Harṣa only among Indian kings.

(d) A 'much stronger argument' is found in the existence of the Bais Rajputs in Nepal according to the testimony of the *Vamśāvali*. 'Since it is an almost universal rule with Indian princes that on the occasion of conquests they grant a portion of land to their clansmen',⁶ probably we have here a direct proof that Nepal was once in the power of a Bais king, who could be nobody else but Harṣa of Kanauj, as we know on the authority of Yuan Chwang that he belonged to the *Feishe* caste, identified by Sir Alexander Cunningham with the Bais Rajputs.⁷

¹ *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 178-83.

² C.I.I., Vol. III, pp. 209-10.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁴ Bhagvan Lal Indraji and Bühler assure us that 'in India the duration of a generation amounts, as the statistical tables of the life-insurance companies show, at the outside to only 26 years' (Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 417).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 420-21.

⁷ *Anc. Geo. of India*, pp. 377-8.

(e) Lastly, we might mention the oft-quoted passage of Bāṇa that Harṣa 'exacted tribute from an inaccessible country of snowy mountains,' which has been construed as referring to Nepal. Apparently, there is some force in these arguments; but they are open to serious objections. First, if the dates of the inscriptions of Amśuvarman be accepted as referring to the Harṣa era, the last known date for him according to inscription No. 8 would be A.D. $606 + 45 = 651$ A.D. The *Records* on the other hand imply by the word 'recent' that Amśuvarman's reign had terminated shortly before the pilgrim's visit in about 637 A.D. And we have, therefore, a discrepancy of about 14 years between the two testimonies. Scholars try to overcome this difficulty by suggesting that the pilgrim did not himself go to Nepal, and his evidence was mere hearsay, 'liable to be coloured and distorted by misunderstanding or misrepresentation.' The assumption, however, is quite gratuitous, for Yuan Chwang was a careful and trustworthy writer, who invariably tried to ascertain facts and write them down correctly. He moved in the highest circles, among powerful potentates and celebrated monks, who could certainly be relied upon to supply correct information.¹ Besides, Yuan Chwang mentions the countries that he did not visit, and as an instance we may cite the case of the six countries beyond Samatāta, regarding which he speaks only on information gained here and there.² Thus there can be no doubt about the pilgrim's testimony, and so to reconcile the conflicting evidence we must refer the dates in the inscriptions to some other era instead of that of Harṣa. Yuan Chwang's visit to those parts has been fixed at about 637 A.D. We also know from inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9 that Amśuvarman died, and his successor was on the throne, between Samvat 45 and 48. Hence, assuming that Amśuvarman was dead a couple of years before the pilgrim's visit, and that the date 45 denotes the last year of his reign, we come to the conclusion that the reckoning in the inscriptions began in the year 590 A.D.

¹ See also Journal of the Mythic Society. Unfortunately I have lost the exact reference to this article, which was available to me in the British Museum, and to which I owe some suggestions.

² Watters, II, p. 187.

approximately. The fact that Amśuvarman was a mere *Sāmanta* or *Mahāsāmanta* need not present any obstacle in adopting this view. Probably he did not start any era formally soon after his accession, but at first dated the inscriptions in the years of his reign. Later on, when he assumed the supreme power in the land, he converted it into an era, dating back to the beginning of his rule; and the same reckoning was continued by his successors. Amśuvarman's earliest inscription is dated Samvat 34, and Samvat undoubtedly indicates an era.

At this point we may be called upon to explain how he could commence an era, when his master was alive in Samvat 39. It would appear that Śivadeva was only the nominal ruler, whereas the real power was vested in Amśuvarman, who is referred to in inscription No. 5 of Śivadeva as one 'who has destroyed the power of all (my) enemies by his heroic majesty' and 'whose brilliant fame, gained by the trouble of properly protecting the subjects, pervades the universe'.¹ Besides, inscriptions Nos. 6 to 8 of Amśuvarman do not mention any superior lord; and as he himself assumed sovereign powers (for example, appointing Udayadeva as his chief executive officer) we may infer that he had become powerful and independent even during his master's lifetime. That he called himself '*Mahāsāmanta*' was probably due to habit or out of respect for his old lord alive in Samvat 39. We may recall in this connection the case of Pusyamitra, who calls himself '*Senāpati*' even after becoming king² or of Rudradāman mentioned as a mere '*Mahākshatrapa*' after the assumption of sovereign status.³ The subordinate titles are dropped in Amśuvarman's inscription of the year 45,⁴ and in that of Jishnugupta of Samvat 48, in which he is referred to as

¹ Ind. Ant., IX, p. 169.

² Malavikāgnimitra, Act V, p. 131 (S. P. Pandit's Edition, 1889).

³ Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman, Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 40, 44, 45. An analogy to the retention of the feudatory title may also be found in the use of the epithet 'Peshwa' by the Mahratta rulers of the Deccan; who instead of being the Peshwas or Ministers of the descendants of Śivaji were in reality their masters.

⁴ No. 8, Ind. Ant., IX, p. 171.

'Bhāttāraka Mahārājādhirāja Sri Amīśuvarmapādah'.¹ There is thus nothing to militate against the view propounded above, that the inscriptions are dated in an independent era.

Secondly, argument (b) loses its entire force if it be granted that the reckoning of Amīśuvarman's inscriptions began some time in 590 A.D. Adding 153 to 590 A.D., we get 743 A.D. as the date of Jayadeva's inscription No. 15. If the date 66 of the Shahpur inscription is to be referred to the Harṣa era—as has been done by Fleet—the difference between Ādityasena and his great-grandson Jayadeva would be only 743—672 A.D.=71 years, or slightly less than the duration of three Indian generations, which as mentioned above, amounts to roughly 78 years. Thus, according to this proposition also the dates would tally remarkably well.

Thirdly, the *Vānsāvali* is worthless for purposes of history, as a few instances will show. It says that Amīśuvarman came to the throne in Kali 3000=101 B.C.,² which is in violent conflict with the testimonies of both Yuan Chwang and the inscriptions. Again, Amīśuvarman's seventh successor, Viradeva, is said to have ruled in Kaliyuga 3623 or 522 A.D.,³ and thus we have the absurdity of seven generations for six hundred years.

Besides, Harṣa was never known as Vikramāditya (even Bāna or the inscriptions do not bestow on him this title, although it is so commonly adopted by powerful Hindu potentates); and it is stretching the point to say that he was called Vikramāditya by confusion. Probably by using the expression 'Vikramāditya came and established his era' the authors of the *Vānsāvali* simply tried to connect the current era in Nepal with the renowned name of Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama era.

Fourthly, the force of argument (d) above lies in the correct identification of the *Fei-she* caste with the Bais Rajputs. It was a casual suggestion of Sir Alexander Cunningham; but we venture to say that it is far from conclusive, as the family

¹ No. 9, *ibid.*, p. 172.

² *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 418.

³ *Ibid.*

suffix Vardhana (usually used after Vaiśya names only) itself would show.

Fifthly, the passage in the *Harṣacarita* is not such as to warrant our drawing any definite conclusions. 'The inaccessible land of snowy mountains' may not refer to Nepal. Ettinghausen¹ thought that it referred to some Tukhāra country. Moreover, it is capable of bearing more than one interpretation. 'Atra parameśvarena tuṣāra śailabhuvo durgāyā grihitah karah,' might as well mean without violence to the context: 'Here the Supreme Lord has obtained the hand of Durgā born in the snowy mountains', which in all probability alludes to Harṣa's marriage with some hill-princess belonging to a very powerful family. That he was married is evident from the following passage put by Bāna into the mouth of Harṣa: 'Kalatram rakshatu iti śrīste nistrimsedhivasati,' i.e. 'if you would have me watch over my wife, glory resides in your steel'.²

The upshot of this lengthy but necessary discussion is that we have no certain evidence pointing to Harṣa's interference in the affairs of the valley; or to the introduction of his era there. It will, therefore, be safer to exclude Nepal from the sphere of the suzerainty of Kanauj.³

We shall now describe the political conditions of some of the eastern parts of India visited by Yuan Chwang.

Magadha: The Chinese pilgrim does not mention in what relation this ancient kingdom stood to Kanauj, nor does he note

¹ 'Harshavardhana', p. 47.

² Translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 175. Although, as we have seen above, Bāna is quite explicit about Harṣa's marriage. It is strange that Dr. Beni Prasad observes: 'Neither Bāṇabhātta nor Yuan Chwang nor any of the contemporary inscriptions refers to any wife of Harṣavardhana, or to the fact of his marriage' (*The State in Ancient India*, Chap. XIV, p. 385). Moreover, Yuan Chwang definitely informs us that Dhruvabhatta, the king of Valabhi, was Harṣa's son-in-law, and this obviously he could not become without the latter's marriage.

³ We may also note here that at this time Tibet wielded supreme influence over Nepal, which gave its full support to the mission of Wang-hien-tse in its punitive expedition against the usurper of Harṣa's throne. Both Watters (Vol. II, p. 85) and Vincent Smith (*Early Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., pp. 353, 361) admit this, but in the description of Harṣa's kingdom the latter includes Nepal (see *ibid.*, p. 341).

the nature of its government. All the information that he gives is that 'in recent times' Śāśāṅka cut down the Bodhi Tree; and 'a few months afterwards Pūrṇavarman, the last descendant of Asoka on the throne of Magadha brought the Tree back to life'.¹ This Pūrṇavarman² must have lived in the beginning of the 7th century A.D., since he is represented here as the contemporary of Śāśāṅka, whose last date according to the Ganjam plate was 619 A.D. After Pūrṇavarman's death, probably Magadha passed under the jurisdiction of Harṣa, as the Chinese documents connected with his embassy to that country seem to style him 'king of Magadha'.³ Support for this view may further be found from Yuan Chwang, who, describing the establishments around the Nalanda convent, records 'a bronze temple in course of construction by King Śilāditya',⁴ and we may be sure that this name could only have reference to the great king of Kanauj at this period.

I-lan-na-po-fa-to country: identified with the modern district of Monghyr. The pilgrim says: 'in recent times the king of a neighbouring State had deposed the ruler, and given the capital to the Buddhist brethren'.⁵ Its proximity to Magadha perhaps justifies our identifying this generous king of the 'border country' with Harṣa.

Chan-po (Champa) or modern Bhagalpur. Yuan Chwang is reticent about its political relations.

Ka-chu-wen (?) (Ki-lo or Kajangala): identified by Cunningham with the modern Rajmahal. We are told that 'the native dynasty had been extinguished some centuries before the time of the pilgrim's visit, and the country had come under a neighbouring State, so the capital was deserted and the people lived in towns and villages. Hence when King Śilāditya in his progress to "East India" held his court, he cut grass and burned these when leaving'.⁶ The fact of Harṣa having held his court

¹ Watters, II, p. 115; Beal, II, p. 118.

² It is possible that Pūrṇavarman was a Maukhari acting as governor of Magadha on behalf of the penultimate or the last Maukhari king of Kanauj, who ruled over it since the days of Sarvavarmān.

³ Watters, I, p. 351. ⁴ Watters, II, p. 171; *Life*, p. 119.

⁵ Watters, II, p. 178; Beal, II, p. 187.

⁶ Watters, II, p. 183; Beal, II, p. 193.

there proves beyond doubt that it was included within his wide dominions. That the king's temporary residence was burnt after his departure should not lead us to the belief that Harṣa merely 'carried on a military raid in this direction,' as supposed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar,¹ for Yuan Chwang himself informs us that the sovereign 'made visits of inspection throughout his dominions having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn'.

Pun-na-fa-tan-na (or Pundravardhana): identified with modern Pabna. *Samataṭa*, regarded as lying in the district of modern Faridpur, south of Dacca.² *Tan-mo-lip-ti* (Tamralipti), corresponding to the modern Tamluk. *Karnasuvarna*, equivalent to the modern districts of Burdwan and Murshidabad.³ The king of these regions shortly before the visit of Yuan Chwang was She-shang-kia or Śāśāṅka, the oppressor of Buddhists, who had treacherously murdered Rājyavardhana.⁴ A king with the same name is known to have been in power about the year 619 A.D., for the Ganjam copperplate of the Gupta year 300 refers to him in pompous expressions: 'While the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Śāśāṅkarāja, was ruling over the earth, surrounded by the girdle of the waves of the water of the four oceans, together with islands, mountains and cities'.⁵ If the Śāśāṅkas of the *Si-yu-ki* and the Ganjam inscription are identical as has been accepted on all hands, it is certain that Harṣa was unable to make any headway against his adversary for at least thirteen years after the murder of Rājya. Yuan Chwang, however, does not mention any reigning king during his visit to these parts; and the manner in which

¹ *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1923, p. 314.

² Watters, II, p. 88. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁴ Yuan Chwang calls Śāśāṅka king of Karnasuvarna; and Bāṇa refers to him as the king of Gauda, which designated Bengal in a loose way. Putting these two testimonies together with the Ganjam plate, we know that Śāśāṅka was ruler of a pretty extensive territory, comprising Bengal proper and portions of the eastern coast-line.

⁵ Śāśāṅka's sovereign status about 619 A.D. is known not only by the title Mahārājādhirāja, but also by the fact that the Mahārāja Mādhavarāja, who issued the grant, calls himself a Mahāsāmanta, and was evidently a feudatory of Śāśāṅka.

he speaks about Śaśāṅka shows that he had lived not very long before his itinerary. This agrees admirably with the testimony of the Ganjam inscription. We must, therefore, explain what happened to Śaśāṅka's kingdom after his death, which may be tentatively fixed in the year 620 A.D. with a slight margin for error.

It has been conjectured that the Nidhanpur inscription celebrates the triumphant entry of Bhāskaravarman of Assam into the capital of Kārṇasuvardhana after his victory, for it describes him as a vanquisher of 'hundreds of kings' and records a grant made from his camp there.¹ This must have happened after the tumult following Aruṇa's usurpation and Bhāskara's siding with Wang-hiuen-tse, as in spite of the 'unending alliance' there seems little likelihood that Harṣa would allow him to appropriate those fertile provinces to himself, and thus gain an immense accession of strength. Politics is a game that hardly knows any magnanimity; and especially in ancient India, dominated by the theories of the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Mahābhārata*, which advocate that a king, although apparently showing friendly feelings, should always entertain a deep suspicion of an allied power, such growth in the power of a contemporary kingdom would never have been tolerated. Hence, from the silence of Yuan Chwang we may conclude that Harṣa, who was waiting for a favourable opportunity to fulfil the vow taken at the start of his career, gratified his ancient grudge against Gauda when the backbone of strength and resistance was broken by the death of Śaśāṅka.

Ka-mo-lu-po or *Kāmarūpa*, i.e. modern Assam. Yuan Chwang informs us that 'the reigning king, who was a Brahmin by caste, and a descendant of Nārāyaṇa Deva was named Bhāskaravarman, his other name being Kumāra. The sovereignty had been transmitted in the family for one thousand generations'.² He was in great fear of his powerful neighbour,

¹ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 66.

² Watters, II, p. 186; Beal, II, p. 196. Strange to say, in some of the family names Yuan Chwang is remarkably confirmed by Bāṇa and the inscriptions. See the *Harsacarita* (Translation), p. 217; J.B.O.R.S., 1919, p. 302; also 1920, p. 151.

Śāśāṅka, and this was probably the reason why he so readily extended the hand of friendship to Harṣa at the initial stage of his campaigns. Dr. R. K. Mookerji, on the other hand, affirms that 'the king of distant Kāmarūpa (Assam) offered him allegiance of his own accord, and was anointed king by his liege lord'.¹ But I find no authority whatsoever for this assertion. Can the conclusion of a treaty by any stretch of imagination be interpreted as 'offering allegiance of his own accord'? The learned Professor finds support for the second part of his statement in a dubious passage occurring in the *Harṣacarita*, viz. 'Atra devena abhiṣiktaḥ Kumāraḥ'.² To my mind, however, it seems to have no bearing upon Bhāskaravarman, for Bāṇa calls him '*Prāgjyotiṣeśvara*' or king of Assam,³ at the time when negotiations were opened by his messenger Hamsavega. I venture to suggest that the passage most probably refers to Mādhabagupta,⁴ the youthful friend of Harṣa, to whom he delegated his authority over Magadha. This is evident if the testimonies of the *Harṣacarita* and the Apsad inscription⁵ are considered in conjunction. The former mentions Mādhabagupta as youthful companion of Harṣa at the Thanesvar Court; whereas from the latter it is evident that he was ruling over the Magadha region, and is further credited 'with the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harsadeva'. This political arrangement was perhaps made by Harṣa either to reward his services rendered during the initial crisis, or to make him a bulwark against the aggressions of Śāśāṅka, who was in power at least till 619 A.D. Or, it may be that by the appointment of a strong lieutenant in Magadha, Harṣa was only manœuvring to further his designs against Śāśāṅka's territories in Bengal and the coastal regions. Mādhabagupta's family,

¹ *Harṣa*, p. 44. See also p. 48, where the author calls Bhāskara 'a vassal chief'.

² *Harṣacarita* (Translation), p. 76; *Cal. ed.*, pp. 210-11.

³ By some slip the term has unfortunately been translated as 'Heir Apparent of Assam' by the learned translators (see *ibid.*, p. 211).

⁴ The term 'Kumāra' has probably been used by Bāṇa in its general sense of 'prince' without reference to any particular name.

⁵ C.I.I., Vol. III, No. 42, pp. 203, 207.

however, declared the independence of Magadha in the confusion following Harṣa's death, as we know his son, Ādityasena, bears the Imperial titles of Mahārājādhīrāja and Paramabhattāraka in inscriptions.

The episode of the forced visit of Yuan Chwang would hardly lead us to any conclusion. It is said that when Harṣa sent for the Chinese pilgrim, who was then staying with Bhāskaravarman, he got the reply that Harṣa could have his head, but not his guest—an expression which undoubtedly stressed his reluctance to part with the illustrious visitor. Receiving an unfavourable reply Harṣa is represented to have made the bold demand to 'send the head',¹ and ultimately the threat had the desired effect. Obviously it cannot follow from this yielding to the pressure of a valued ally that the king of Assam accepted the political suzerainty of Harṣa.

The circumstance of attending both the assemblies at Kanauj and Prayāga also does not help us to determine the political relations of the two potentates. Bhāskara witnessed their proceedings as a friend on an equal footing with Harṣa,² and there is no evidence that it involved a compromise of his independence.

Wu-tu (Odra) or modern Orissa, and *Kung-yu*(*gu* or *ya*)-*to* or Kongodha, identical with the modern Ganjam district.³ Yuan Chwang is silent about the government of both, but he describes the latter as a great military country: 'As the towns were naturally strong, there was a gallant army, which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy'.⁴ As we shall show below, Orissa was certainly within the pale of Harṣa's sovereignty, and regarding Kongodha we

¹ *Life*, p. 172.

² Compare in this connection the installation ceremony of Chakrā-yudha, which was attended by nine independent powers. Some scholars think that they attended as feudatories of either Kanauj (C. V. Vaidya, *H.M.H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 341), or Dharmapāla of Bengal (R. D. Banerji, *Memoirs Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 51), but I make bold to say that there is nothing in the Khalimpur grant (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 243-54) to justify such an assumption.

³ See also *J.B.O.R.S.*, Dec. 1926, p. 586.

⁴ Watters, II, p. 197; Beal, II, p. 207.

learn from the *Life*¹ that this country had been attacked and subjugated by the king of Kanauj. It was then 'apparently a part of that great sovereign's kingdom'. Thus it appears that Harṣa made this region a strong military outpost of his far-flung empire, probably with a view to preventing any foreign incursions on the borders, threatened as they were by the eastward advance of Pulakesi II, who is credited with the conquest of Kośala and Kalinga in the Aihole inscription.²

Having dealt with those portions of the north and east that lay in the pilgrim's route, we now come to the kingdoms of the south-west and west.

Mo-ha-la-cha or *Mahāraṣṭra*. Yuan Chwang gives us a very reliable description of this kingdom. The king, we are told, was 'a Kshatriya by birth, and his name was Pulo-ki-sha (Pulakesi). The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide, and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Śilāditya at this time was invading east and west; and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him, but Mo-ha-la-cha refused to become subject to him'.³ Additional information is furnished by the *Life*⁴ that Śilāditya 'boasting of his skill and invariable success of his generals himself marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince'. But even his supreme and masterful command did not enable him to subjugate or prevail over his powerful southern rival, who had by his extensive conquests in the south justly won the proud title of 'Dakṣināpatha prithivyāḥ svāmi' or 'lord of the whole region of the south'.⁵

The pilgrim's account of this clash between the two great rivals is remarkably confirmed by the testimony of the Chālukya inscriptions also. The Aihole Meguti inscription of A.D. 634, containing a description of Pulakesi's exploits, refers to the event as follows: 'Envious because his troops of mighty elephants were slain in war, Harṣa, whose lotuses, which were his feet, were covered with the rays of the jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power was

¹ *Life*, pp. 159, 172.

² Ind. Ant., VIII, pp. 242, 245.

³ Watters, II, p. 239; Beal, II, p. 256.

⁴ *Life*, p. 147.

⁵ Yekkeri inscription, Ep. Ind., V, p. 8.

caused by him to have his joy melted away by fear'.¹ Further references to the same event occur in the Nirpan,² Karnul,³ and Togarchedu grants,⁴ which testify that the Chālukya monarch acquired the title of 'Parameśvara' or 'supreme lord' by defeating Harṣavardhana 'the warlike lord of all the region of the north (Sakalottarapathanātha).⁵ This reverse, the first great military achievement of the south against a northern power, was perhaps due not only to the proud spirit and warlike character of the Mahrattas, but also to Pulakeśi's superior and carefully equipped troops—cavalry and elephants.

Po-lu-ka-cha-po (Bhrigukachchhapa or Bhrigukachchha, i.e. Bharoch) : identified with the kingdom founded by Dadda. It was doubtless independent of Kanauj, as its ruler gave protection to one of Harṣa's vanquished adversaries.⁶

Mo-la-po or Western Malwa, with its dependencies of *Kita*, identified with Cutch or Kheda; *Ānandapura* and *Su-la-cha* or Surat. Regarding Malwa, Yuan Chwang informs us that the local records told of a king, by name Śilāditya, who had reigned over the country sixty years before the pilgrim's arrival, a monarch of great administrative ability, and of rare kindness and compassion'.⁷ This Śilāditya has been identified with Śilāditya Dharmāditya of the Valabhi dynasty, whose nephew Dhruvabhaṭa was ruling over Valabhi at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit. We may, therefore, infer that Śilāditya Dharmāditya was the original ruler of Valabhi, to which he annexed Western Malwa (or *Mo-la-po*); and that his nephew Dhruvabhaṭa II, a contemporary of Yuan Chwang, was also in possession of Malwa with its three dependencies.

About *Falapi* or Valabhi Yuan Chwang records: 'The reigning sovereign was of Kshatriya birth, a nephew of Śilāditya, the former king of Malava, and a son-in-law of the Śilāditya reigning at Kānyakubja; his name was Tu-lo-po-po-ta (i.e.

¹ Ind. Ant., VIII, p. 244.

² Ind. Ant., IX, pp. 124-25.

³ Ibid., XI, p. 68.

⁴ Ibid., VI, pp. 84-87.

⁵ Also see in this connection: (a) a grant of the Yuvarāja Śilāditya Sryāsraya (Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 74); (b) the Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya II (*Ibid.*, XVI, p. 22).

⁶ See below. ⁷ Watters, II, p. 242; Beal, II, p. 261; *Life*, p. 148.

Dhruvabhaṭa); he was of a hasty temper, and of shallow views, but he was a sincere believer in Buddhism'.¹

It is usually assumed that Valabhi was a feudatory state of Harṣa. Dr. Vincent Smith discussing his campaigns remarks that after the flight Dhruvabhata 'was compelled to sue for peace, to accept the hand of the victor's daughter, and to be content with the position of a feudatory vassal'.² He further adds: 'The same campaign may be presumed to have involved the submission of the kingdoms or countries of Ānandapura, Kicha or Cutch (?), and Soratha or Southern Kathiawar, all of which in A.D. 641 were still reckoned to be dependencies of Mo-la-po, or Western Malava, formerly subject to Valabhi'.³ The latest follower of Smith is Dr. R. K. Mookerji,⁴ and as this view is rather common among scholars, we proceed to examine how far the facts at our disposal justify it.

There is an interesting passage in the Nausari copperplate grant, which contains a reference to Harṣa's fight with the king of Valabhi. We are told of 'the illustrious Dadda over whom, with the grace of a white cloud, there hung ceaselessly a canopy of glory, gained by protecting (or rescuing ?) the lord of Valabhi, who had been overpowered by the great lord, the illustrious Harṣa Deva'.⁵ The Valabhi king, contemporary with Dadda II of Broach was Dhruvasena II, but Yuan Chwang calls the then monarch of this kingdom Tu-lo-po-pa-ta, or Dhruvabhaṭa, so that we may suppose both the names to refer to one and the same person. Putting together the evidence of the Nausari inscription and of Yuan Chwang, we may further infer that Dhruvabhatta or Dhruvasena II first sought the protection of Dadda II of Broach after meeting with a reverse against Harṣa, and later on regained his power, being on the throne during the pilgrim's visit. We are, therefore, called upon to explain how a minor king—a mere Sāmanta—like that of

¹ Watters, II, p. 246; Beal, II, p. 267; *Life*, p. 149.

² Early Hist. of India, 3rd ed., p. 340.

³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Harṣa*, pp. 30-31.

⁵ Parameśvara-śrī-Harṣa-devābhībhūta Valabhi-pati (ri) trānopajāta bhramad adabhra subhrābhra vibhrama yaśovitānah Śrī Daddaḥ (Ind. Ant., XIII, pp. 77-79).

Broach, could afford protection to Dhruvabhatta against the forces of Harṣa, and what was his status after the restoration.

The answer to this query probably lies in the Airole inscription, which informs us that 'subdued by his (Pulakeśi's) splendour, the Lātas, Mālavas, and Gurjaras became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories subdued by force ought to behave'.¹ Commenting on this passage, Dr. Kielhorn remarked that the powers² mentioned above, being 'impressed by the majesty and power of Pulakeśi had voluntarily submitted to him, or sought his protection'.³ This must surely have been when they were threatened by the aggressions of the Kanauj king. Pulakeśi lent a willing ear to their appeal for succour, and as well pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar,⁴ the confederacy thus formed was a formidable one, 'resulting in Harṣa's complete discomfiture'. The fact that the Chālukya inscriptions do not mention any such joint action would not militate against this view, for the inscriptions represent those powers as feudatories; and they would naturally give the whole credit to a ruler of the dynasty.

Harṣa gave way against these tremendous odds, and a treaty was arranged, stipulating the restoration of Dhruvabhatta II, who (perhaps as a mark of the termination of hostilities) further accepted the hand of Harṣa's daughter.⁵ This matrimonial arrangement was undoubtedly a masterly stroke of diplomacy, as it procured for Harṣa the alliance of his quondam foe, who could henceforth be relied upon to restrain the northern ambitions (if any) of his great southern neighbour Pulakeśi II.

¹ Ep. Ind., VI, p. 10, verse 22.

² They are obviously to be identified with the Bharoch and Valabhi kingdoms.

³ *Ibid.*, note 5.

⁴ See J.B.O.R.S., 1923, p. 319 f., which I have used with profit in preparing this paper.

⁵ Such diplomatic marriages after a trial of strength were not unknown in ancient India. For instance, we are told that Seleukos Nikator ratified the peace with Chandragupta Maurya by a 'matrimonial alliance', although the expression used does not justify the current assumption that Seleukos 'gave his daughter in marriage' to his Indian rival (see also Smith's *Aśoka*, 3rd ed., p. 15 and note).

But even supposing the suggestion, offered above, to be utterly untenable, we have no grounds for inferring the subordination of Valabhi to Kanauj. There is no trace of it in Yuan Chwang's account, and it is also certain that Dhruvabhaṭa II was on the throne during the time of the pilgrim's visit. He must have, therefore, regained his position by the power of his sword ; and his previous defeat, referred to in the Nausari inscription, was no proof of feudatory rank. It might as well be said that by his failure against Pulakeśi, Harṣa was compelled to recognise the southern monarch as his suzerain and overlord.

The fact that Dhruvabhaṭa attended the religious assembly at Prayāga does not prove anything about his status. He went there as Harṣa's son-in-law, and as an independent prince like Bhāskaravarman. There was no 'element of political obligation' in his attendance. Moreover, Dhruvabhaṭa himself used to hold such gatherings in his realm, and this circumstance must have also prompted him to witness the proceedings of a grander assembly. The *Life* says : 'He is faithfully attached to the three treasures, and every year he assembles a great gathering and for seven days he entertains priests from all countries and bestows on them food of the best description, choice jewels, bedding and clothes, with varieties of medicaments, and other things of different kinds'.¹ Lastly, in the same connection the *Life* gives Dhruvabhaṭa the significant title of 'King of South India',² which speaks for itself and needs no comment. Thus, the available evidence does not justify the current assumption that Valabhi was a feudatory state of Kanauj.

Ku-che-lo, or the Gurjara kingdom : 'The king, who was a Kshatriya by birth, was a young man, celebrated for his wisdom and valour, and he was a profound believer in Buddhism, and a patron of exceptional abilities'.³

Wu-she-yen-na or Ujjain : We are told that 'the king was of the Brahmin caste ; he was well-learned in the heterodox lore, but he was not a Buddhist'.⁴

¹ *Life*, pp. 149-150.

² *Ibid.*, p. 185.

³ Watters, II, p. 249; Beal, II, p. 270.

⁴ Watters, II, p. 250; Beal, II, p. 271.

Chih-chi-to: identified with the kingdom of Jajhoti, the capital of which was Khajuraho, which corresponds with the modern region of Bundelkhand. As regards its government, the pilgrim informs us: 'The king, who was a Brahmin, was a firm believer in Buddhism, and encouraged men of merit, and learned scholars of other lands collected here in numbers'.¹

Mo-hi-szu-fa-lo-pu-lo or *Maheśvarapura*: corresponding with the region round about Gwalior between the Chambal and the Sindhu rivers.² Yuan Chwang says: 'The king was a Brahmin, and was not a believer in Buddhism'.³

Sindh was under a vigorous government, and it had then at least three dependencies, viz. *Atien-po-chih-lo* or Atyanabakela⁴; *Pi-to-shih-lo*, identified by Cunningham with Haidarabad or Nirankot, and by General Haig with the Thar and Parker district of West India⁵; *A-fan-tu*, identical with Brahmanabad or the Khairpur territory.⁶

Bāna, on the other hand, would have us believe that Harṣa pounded a king of Sindh, and appropriated the *Rājā-lakshmī* or fortune of that monarch.⁷ Probably what happened was that sometime during his reign Harṣa came into collision with the king of Sindh, and it resulted in the defeat of the latter. But the victory was no more than a brilliant conclusion of hostilities, as in the case of Pulakesi II, for we know definitely on the authority of Yuan Chwang that Sindh continued to be ruled by a king of the Sūdra caste, who was a sincere believer in Buddhism.⁸

¹ Watters, II, p. 251; Beal, II, p. 271.

² See Map of India at the end of Watters, Vol. II.

³ Watters, II, p. 251; Beal, II, p. 271.

⁴ Watters, II, p. 256; Beal, II, p. 276. Watters restores the name as *Kachchheśvara*.

⁵ Watters, II, p. 258; Beal, II, p. 279.

⁶ *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

⁷ Compare *Hareśacarita* 'Atra puruṣottamena Sindhurājam pramathyā Lakshmirātmīyā krita.'

⁸ Watters, II, p. 252; Beal, II, p. 272. The Buddhist king of the Sūdra caste at the time of Yuan Chwang must have been Sihas-rai, son of Divāji, who was succeeded by his son Sahasi. This dynasty seems to have preceded the one founded by the Brahman Chach, according to the *Chach Nāmā*.

Conclusion

We have now finished our critical survey of Yuan Chwang's description of contemporary kingdoms, along with the evidence of other relevant authorities, in regard to the nature of their governments. There are indeed some very striking features in the narrative of the pilgrim. It is to be noticed that he is very careful to mention the political status of the countries he visited, and to name the dependencies of certain kingdoms, like Kapisa, Kashmir, Mālava and Sindh. In case of certain countries he even notes the transfer of allegiance, as we learn about Taxilla that it 'had been formerly subject to Kapiśa, but now it was a dependency of Kashmir'.¹ About Lang-kie (Ka-lo) he observes: 'It had no supreme government, each valley having a separate government of its own, but it was subject to Persia'.² Again, in the case of A-tien-po-chih-lo the pilgrim notes: 'The country had latterly been without a sovereign, and was under Sindh'.³ Similarly, as regards Lampa or Lan-po he says: 'For several centuries the native dynasty had ceased to exist, great families fought for pre-eminence, and the state had recently become a dependency of Kapiśa'⁴; but he does not, strange to say, name one kingdom or territory as being subject to Kanauj, although he generally calls its king 'lord of the Five Indias,' and one who had 'conquered all the nations from east to west, and carried his arms to the remote districts'.⁵ Thus, if we take Yuan Chwang's account too literally we shall have to say with Dr. R. C. Majumdar that 'so far at least as these accounts are concerned, Harṣavardhana was merely king of Kanauj'.⁶

But such a conclusion would indeed be entirely wide the mark as Yuan Chwang himself credits Harṣa with extensive conquests and protracted military campaigns. The *Life* also describes him as a powerful monarch, attended by numerous feudatories during the assemblies at Kanauj and Prayāga.

¹ Watters, I, p. 240; Beal, I, p. 136.

² Watters, II, p. 257; Beal, II, p. 277.

³ Watters, II, p. 256; Beal, II, p. 276.

⁴ Watters, I, p. 181; Beal, I, p. 90.

⁵ Beal, II, pp. 256-7; *Life*, p. 83.

⁶ J.B.O.R.S., 1923, p. 318.

Hence, however difficult it might be to determine the exact limits of the kingdom during his time, it is clear that by 'his military genius' Harṣa enlarged them, thus winning for himself a high 'reputation for valour, to which Yuan Chwang bears eloquent testimony'.¹

Is it then to be assumed that the territories, about the governments of which Yuan Chwang maintains silence, were included within Kanauj? Probably the pilgrim thought that Harṣa's dominions were too well-known to need any explicit mention, and relying on this assumption, we may well suppose that the following parts were under his authority:—

Ku-lu-to or Kullu; She-to-tu-lu or Śatadru country; Mo-tu-lo or Mathura; Sa-ta-ni-ssn-fa-lo or Sthanisvara; Srughna; Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo or Brahmapura; Ko-pi-sang-na or Govishana; Ngo-hi-chi-ta-lo or Ahichchhatra; Pi-lo-shan-na or Atranjikhera; Kapittha or Sankissa; A-yu-t-e or Ayodhyā; Aya-mu-kha or Daundiakhera; Prayāga; Kosambi; Pi-so-ka; Shi-lo-fa-si-tu or Sravasti; Rāma or Rāmagrāma; Kuśinagara; Po-lo-na-se or Varāṇasi; Fei-she-li or Vaisali; Fu-li-chih or the Vriji country; Magadha; I-lan-na-po-fa-to or Monghyr; Chanpo or Champa; Ka-chu-wen or Kajaangala; Pun-na-fa-tan-na or Pundravardhana; Samataṭa; Tan-mo-lip-ti or Tamralipti; Karṇasuvarna; Wu-tu or Orissa; Kung-yu-to or Kongodha.

That some of these portions were actually within the empire of Harṣa can be proved by means of independent evidence. We have already discussed above that his ancestral kingdom comprised Sthanviśvara, the valley of the Saraswati river, and parts of Eastern Rajputana. The find-spots of the Banskhera² and Madhuban plates,³ recording grants of land, show that Ahichchhatra and Sravasti formed *Bhuktis* or divisions of his empire. If the Śilāditya coins found in the Bhitura hoard (Fyzabad district) are to be attributed to Harṣa, as has been done by Sir Richard Burn,⁴ we have then direct

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

² Ep. Ind., IV, p. 208 f. See line 7 of the inscription.

³ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 71-74.

⁴ J.R.A.S., 1906, pp. 843-860. Dr. Hoernle, however, doubts this attribution (J.R.A.S., 1909, pp. 446-448).

proof that Ayodhya was under Harśa. Likewise, Prayāga was certainly included, since it was the scene of Harśa's great charitable distribution. We may also add that Harśa's title 'King of Magadha', found in the Chinese documents connected with his embassy, unmistakably points to the same conclusion. Again, the fact that Śilāditya held his court at Kajangala in his progress to East India is conclusive proof, as has been shown above, that his empire extended so far. We further know that Harśa was carrying on military operations in Kongodha as late as the year 643 A.D. Lastly, regarding Orissa we have grounds to believe that Harśa exercised his authority there. The *Life* says that Śilāditya constructed a Vihāra covered with brass plates by the side of the Nalanda monastery, about a hundred feet in height, and after the subjugation of Kongodha he camped in Orissa for a time. It is further evident from the fact that Śilāditya made a munificent gift of 'the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa' to Jayasena, 'the admiration of the period', who in his characteristic otherworldliness declined the king's repeated offers.¹

Negatively, the Chinese pilgrim indicates what states lay beyond the pale of Harśa's jurisdiction, by mentioning the ruling sovereigns of each.

These were :—

Po-li-ye-ta-lo or Bairat; Mo-ti-pu-lo (Matipura); Suvarna-gotra country; Kapilāvastu; Nipo-lo or Nepal; Ka-mo-lu-po or Kāmarūpa; Mo-ha-la-cha or Mahārāṣṭra; Po-lu-ka-cha-po or Bharoch; Falapi or Valabhi; Kuche-lo or the Gurjara kingdom; Wu-she-yen-na or Ujjain; Chih-chi-to or Jajhoti; Mo-hi-ssu-fa-lo-pu-lo or Maheśvarapura; Sindh.

We may, therefore, on the strength of Yuan Chwang's testimony and other epigraphic and literary evidences, roughly define the Kanauj kingdom of Harśa in modern geographical terminology as consisting of portions of Eastern Panjab, almost the whole of the present United Provinces, Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa including Kongodha or the Ganjam region.

That this view is substantially correct is further evident

¹ *Life*, p. 154.

from the fact that all the places mentioned in connection with Harśa's tours of inspection lie eastward. The *Life* tells us that when Yuan Chwang first met Harśa, he was camping at Kie-shu-ho-ki-lo or Kajangala in Bengal.¹ The Banskhera and Madhuban plates issued from Vardhamanakoti and Kapitthika or Sankissa respectively give two more camps. Among his other places of sojourn were Rajmahal, Prayāga, Manitara (Oudh)² and Orissa.³

Additional support for the above view may also be found in Yuan Chwang's description of Harśa as 'lord of the Five Indias', which has been explained as comprising Svarāṣṭra or the Panjab (i.e. Eastern parts of the Panjab in this case), Kānyakubja, Mithila or Bihar, Gauda or Bengal, and Utkala or Orissa.⁴

Thus the whole evidence harmonises remarkably well, and it is high time to give up all exaggerated notions of Harśa's sovereignty or political jurisdiction extending up to Kashmir and Sindh, Gujarat and even the far South, Kāmarūpa (Assam) and Nepal. Such a view is flagrantly opposed to the unimpeachable contemporary testimony of Yuan Chwang. Besides, there is nothing in the inscriptions to support it. These territories themselves were of sufficiently imposing dimensions, being much larger than any other individual state in Northern India; and this was the reason why the power and majesty of Harśa made such a deep impression upon the illustrious Master of the Law.⁵

¹ *Life*, p. 172; Watters, II, p. 183.

² *Harsacarita* (English translation), p. 46.

³ It is to be noted that to the other places in the South, Harśa went in the capacity of an unwelcome invader, and not as a ruler anxious to relieve the distress of his subjects.

⁴ Havell's Aryan Rule in India, p. 191; D. C. Sen's History of Bengali language and literature, p. 385; Smith's Early History of India, 4th ed., p. 353.

⁵ Before concluding we must explain the phenomenon of small kingdoms like Matipura, Maheśvarapura, and Jajhoti, etc., almost adjacent to Kanauj. These States must have offered their alliance, like Kāmarūpa, at the very start of Harśa's career in order to save themselves from being swept away by his war-frenzy. And Harśa, who stood in

An objection

A possible objection to our view may be raised in the title 'Sakalottarāpathanātha', given to Harṣa in the southern inscriptions. This has been interpreted as implying that Harṣa 'achieved the proud position of being the paramount sovereign of the whole of Northern India'.¹ But there are grounds for supposing that the epithet does not bear any geographical significance. There is mention of another 'Sakalottarāpathanātha' in the inscriptions of Chālukya Vinayāditya,² and the suggested identification is that in all probability he was one of the successors of Mahārājadirāja Ādityasena in the later Gupta line of Magadha. In this case, however, it is known beyond doubt that his dominions did not comprise the whole of Northern India. It is thus evident that the expression 'Sakalottarāpathanātha' was used in a vague and loose way, and did not necessarily connote the whole of the region extending from the Himalayas to the Vindhya ranges.

Harṣa and the Far South

In connection with our topic we may also take notice of the following lines in praise of Harṣa, attributed to Mayūra, who is reputed to have been the father-in-law of Bāna:

‘Bhūpālāḥ Śaśibhāskarānvayabhuvaḥ ke nāma nāsāditāḥ,
Bhartāram punar ekam eva hi bhuvas tvām deva manyā-
mahe |

dire need of allies then, astutely tolerated their continued existence. Regarding those powers, which lay in the route of his southern march, it appears that they maintained their autonomy by giving a passage to the forces of Harṣa through their territories; or if they had to submit to his yoke they must have taken advantage of his discomfiture when warring against Pulakeśi II. Yuan Chwang visited these parts after this event; and it is certain from his narrative that these territories were then under their native rulers.

¹ *Harṣa*, p. 43.

² Compare for example: 'Vinayāditya Satyāśraya had acquired the insignia of supreme dominion by crushing the lord of all the region of the North' (Sakal-ottara-patha-nātha-mathan-opārijita). Ind. Ant., IX, p. 129; *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 107, III.

Yenāṅgam parimṛṣya Kuntalam athākṛṣya vyudasyāyatam,
Cholam prāpyaca Madhyadeśam adhunā kāñcyām karah
pātitah¹ |

It is thought that reference is here made to the southern conquests of Harṣa as far as Kuntala, Chola, and Kañchi.

Support for this view is further found in the Gaddemane inscription, in which we come across the following passage in characters of the 7th century :

'Svasti Śrī Śila-ādityan diśām-bharggan ākevalan aggala-
kantakan,
Péralke vare Pettāni Satyāṅkan attulabhatam bedare
Mahendran,
Bedara rāyara Malappara Kalegaduļe vividu svarggālaya
Kkeridan beleya maļa kādon kalyānam akke alivon
pañch-ma.'

It mentions the death of one Pettāni Satyāṅka, while engaged in a fight against some Bedā chiefs, when Śilāditya invaded the south, and Mahendra took to flight. It is supposed that the name Śilāditya refers to Harṣa of Kanauj, and Mahendra to his Pallava contemporary Mahendravarman I.²

The theory of Harṣa's invasion of the south does not, however, seem to rest on solid foundations. Firstly, the identification of Śilāditya with Harṣa is far from certain. Dr. R. C. Majumdar identifies him with Yuvarāja Sryāśraya Śilāditya, who lived in the second half of the 7th century A.D., and Mahendra with Mahendravarman II, on the ground that there was 'constant hostility between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas'³ about this period. Secondly, it does not seem probable that Harṣa could play the rôle of a second Samudra-gupta, or that his victorious arms could penetrate so far south, when at the very frontiers of the Deccan he had to bear the humiliation of an ignominious defeat at the hands of Pulakesi II,

¹ J.R.A.S., 1926, p. 487; Ind. Hist. Quart., Dec., 1927, p. 788.

² Ann. Rep. Mysore Arch. Dept., 1923, p. 83; Ind. Hist. Quart., Dec., 1927, pp. 788-89.

³ Ind. Hist. Quart., V, 1929, p. 235.

who also claims to have won a victory against the Pallava king. Thirdly, the passage of Mayūra has hardly any air of reality and appears as 'praise in the conventional exaggerated style of a poet, given to punning, and without any reference to historical accuracy'.

IV.—Mir Qāsim at Patna, 1761.

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The political situation in Bihar had been a source of perpetual anxiety to Mir Jafar owing to the repeated incursions of the Shahzadah, and the rebellion of powerful Zemindars. Mir Qāsim came to power at a time when the Shahzadah¹ was still in Bihar aided by Law and rebellious Zemindars.² The Nawab's troops were mutinous³ for want of pay, and in no mood to fight against the enemy. Many of them were even deserting to the Shahzadah.⁴ The Nawab had paid them only a part of their dues,⁵ but still they did not fully co-operate with the Company's troops. The principal officials of the Nawab in Bihar—Ramnarayan and Rajballabh—were jealous of each other, and their mutual wrangles⁶ not only caused a dislocation of the administrative affairs, but also prevented the Company's officers from inflicting a decisive defeat on the Shahzadah. The Nawab's troops whose pay was heavily in arrears were kept under control with great difficulty. Rajballabh was openly abused by them for non-payment of salary, and his life itself was in danger.⁷ This state of affairs certainly encouraged the Shahzadah and his adherents in their designs. The Nawab's presence was urgently needed at Patna to stop the continual dissensions among his officers, to assist the Company's troops in driving out the Shahzadah, to chastise the hostile Zemindars, and to regulate the affairs of the province.⁸ Mir Qāsim was, however, not

¹ Mir Qāsim had sent a petition to the Shahzadah even before his accession with a view to gain his goodwill. Bengal Sel. Com., 24th September, 1760.

² Bengal Sel. Com., 4th December, 1760, and Shah Alam Namah, p. 129.

³ *Ibid.*, 6th November, 1760, and Shah Alam Namah, p. 168.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 19th November, 1760. ⁵ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, pp. 3-4.

⁶ The Siyar, p. 700. (Lucknow Text.)

⁷ Beng. Sel. Com., 14th December, 1760.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 5th January, 1761.

in a position to go to Patna in spite of the strong representation of Ghulam Hussain who had been sent by Major Carnac to persuade him to come to Patna immediately,¹ because early in January, 1761, he was busy with the military operations against the Raja of Birbhum. He could not leave for Patna without establishing himself securely in Bengal. All that he could do was to send considerable sums for payment to the troops in Bihar.²

The Nawab, however, decided³ to leave for Bihar immediately after punishing the Birbhum Raja, because he was getting suspicious of the intentions of the Shahzadah. He apprehended⁴ that the English officers in Bihar might intrigue against him with the latter. He would never feel secure so long as the Mughal prince remained in the country.⁵

Luckily for the Nawab, the Shahzadah was decisively defeated⁶ on January 15, 1761, by Carnac who having taken command at Patna on December 31, 1760, had taken the field with the Company's troops unassisted by the Nawab's army.⁷ The Shahzadah now wanted to come to an understanding⁸ with the English and to return to Delhi, as the Abdali was reported to have recognised him as the Emperor of Delhi. He realised that the English could be his invaluable allies in the near future,⁹ so he decided to settle the terms of peace with them, and met Carnac on 6th February, who honourably escorted him to Patna.¹⁰ They reached there on the 14th of February.¹¹ This dramatic turn of events made it imperative for the Nawab to hurry to Patna immediately.¹² The news of the Shahzadah's arrival at Patna caused him great anxiety.¹³ He was extremely apprehensive of

¹ The Siyar, p. 700. (Lucknow Text.)

² Bengal Sel. Com., 6th November, 1760. Bengal Sel. Com., 19th January, 1761. Vansittart Narrative, I, pp. 178-9.

³ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 4. ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

⁵ Zemindars like Pahalwan Singh intrigued with the Shahzadah. (See Shah Alam Namah, p. 169.)

⁶ Bengal Sel. Com., 22nd January, 1761.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 19th January, 1761. ⁸ *Ibid.*, 10th February, 1761.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 17th and 28th February, 1761.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28th February, 1761. ¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Muzaffar-Namah, p. 310. (Alld. Univ. MS.)

¹³ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), V, p. 355. Siyar, p. 703. (Lucknow Text.)

a close alliance between the Shahzadah and the Company, and he determined to prevent it. What alarmed him most was the Governor's communication to him that the Shahzadah intended to proceed to Delhi with the assistance of the English.¹ After the pacification of Birbhum in February, the Nawab left for Patna attended by a detachment under Major York,² and reached Baikuntpur in the beginning of March.³ There he was met by Carnac, Ramnarayan, and Rajballabh who paid their respects to him.⁴

The Nawab evinced a queer suspicion of the Shahzadah, and had recently recalled the forces of Ramnarayan and Rajballabh who had been sent by Carnac to subdue Kamgar Khan, a rebel Zemindar. This brought about an unpleasant misunderstanding with Carnac during the interview⁵ at Baikuntpur. This incident demonstrates how the Nawab lacked all military sense. Although he had been informed by Mr. Vansittart that Carnac would follow his instructions, and obey him implicitly,⁶ he ought to have realised the necessity of consulting the latter before sending for Ramnarayan and Rajballabh with their forces. Carnac was justified in feeling that the Nawab had no right to upset his plans without previously informing him⁷ about it, as the whole responsibility of the military operations rested with him. During his very first interview with the Nawab, Carnac made it perfectly clear to the latter that it was he who was ultimately responsible for the direction of the English forces, and that he must not be expected to render implicit obedience in the matter of military operations. This plain speaking on the part of Carnac offended⁸ the Nawab who thought he had every right to dictate to him in all matters. Mir Qāsim had obviously recalled the forces, as he did not

¹ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 126, pp. 22-23, and Beng. Sel. Com., 17th February, 1761.

² Vans. I, p. 179, and Beng. Sel. Com., 26th January, 1761.

³ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 13.

⁴ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 174, pp. 53-54.

⁵ Beng. Sel. Com., 15th March, 1761.

⁶ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 197, p. 68.

⁷ Vans. I, p. 185. Carnac to Sel. Com., 6th March, 1761.

⁸ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 5, and Vans. I, p. 188.

consider himself sufficiently secure without their presence at Patna. Regardless of its undesirable consequences to the military operations against Kamgar Khan, and overwhelmed with needless fear, he provoked Carnac by throwing the whole responsibility of subduing Kamgar Khan's country on the Company's detachment under Captain Champion. Carnac, therefore, rightly recalled Captain Champion on the ground that he could not remain unassisted by the Nawab's troops in a country with which he was wholly unfamiliar.¹ The Nawab was unreasonably enraged at this, and questioned the action of Carnac. The only direct result of this misunderstanding was that the Nawab's suspicions of the English officers were deepened, and he became hyper-sensitive in all his dealings with them during his stay at Patna.

At Patna, the Nawab encamped with his men on the eastern side of the city near Jafar Khan's garden.² He did not think it prudent to go to the fort, nor did he like to dismiss Major York and his men.³ The real reason was that he did not trust either Carnac or Ramnarayan. With the latter he was displeased from the beginning for his dilatoriness in following his instructions.⁴ He exhibited a curious aversion to the Shahzadah who, he knew, had offered to grant the Company the Diwani and Subahdari of Bengal.⁵ He could not be easily persuaded to offer his respects to him. Carnac tried in vain⁶ to introduce him to the honoured guest. The Nawab positively refused to go to the Shahzadah's quarters.⁷ Suspicious by nature as he was, he may have anticipated some foul play. He did not think himself safe there, such was his strange nervousness; nor would he visit the Shahzadah except on a lucky day.⁸ After some futile negotiation, an auspicious

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 15th March, 1761.

² Siyar, p. 703. (Lucknow Text.)

³ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 177, p. 56.

⁴ This fact is alluded to only in the Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), pp. 312-3.

⁵ Beng. Sel. Com., 11th December, 1760.

⁶ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 313.

⁷ Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 355.

⁸ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 14.

day was fixed, and Carnac requested the Nawab to consent to an interview on that day.¹ It was, however, agreed that the meeting should take place in the English Factory where alone the Nawab could be persuaded to go.² He even insisted that the Shahzadah should come with a small retinue. Carnac had to induce the latter to bring a few followers only.³

The English Factory presented a gay appearance on the appointed day, and the central hall was decorated to serve the purpose of a Diwan-i-Khas. Shah Alam (as the Shahzadah had proclaimed himself) came into the hall,⁴ and cordially welcomed⁵ the Nawab who made the usual three bows, and presented a 'nazar' of one thousand and one gold coins, a quantity of jewels, and other costly articles.⁶ These Shah Alam graciously accepted,⁷ and in return honoured the Nawab with presents, invested him with a 'Sarpech', and even consented to dine at the same table with him.⁸ Thus ended the first interview after the payment of the customary 'peshkash'. The Nawab was, however, at heart extremely annoyed at the presence of Shah Alam whom he held responsible for the confusion of his affairs at Patna.⁹ He even complained to Mr. Vansittart that he could not afford to pay the allowances fixed for his guest, and grumbled at his lack of resources. He had consented to pay the daily allowance of the Shahzadah very reluctantly. He at first gave him Rs. 1,000 a day, but as this did not prove sufficient, another three hundred rupees had to be added.¹⁰ The Shahzadah still complained that this amount was too small to support his rank and file.¹¹ The Governor then

¹ 4th Shaban—*vide* Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 314, and Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 736, 12th March, *vide* Carnac's letter to the Select Committee, 20th March.

² Beng. Sel. Com., 28th March, 1761.

³ Siyar, p. 703. (Lucknow Text.)

⁴ Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 356. Ghulam Hussain also gives a long description of the improvised hall of audience and the whole interview. (Siyar, p. 703.)

⁵ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 314.

⁸ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 182, pp. 58-9.

⁹ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6.

¹⁰ Beng. Sel. Com., 17th March, 1761. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 31st March, 1761.

requested the Nawab to pay Rs. 500 more.¹ Mir Qāsim was, however, feeling impatient² at the prolonged stay of his guest who was being entertained at his expense. The Select Committee rightly agreed with Mr. McGuire that the allowance was an insignificant sum compared to the vast amount spent during the previous years to keep him off the province.³

All the time, the Nawab complained against Carnac. It is necessary, therefore, to suggest the reasons why he was so prejudiced against the latter :—

- (i) Carnac did not adopt a humble attitude towards the Nawab, and so the latter's vanity was hurt⁴;
- (ii) Mir Qāsim suspected that Carnac might intrigue against him, as he had not approved of his elevation to the masnad;
- (iii) The Nawab wrongly believed that Carnac wanted to belittle him in the eyes of Shah Alam⁵;
- (iv) Carnac was further known to be supporting Ramnarayan whom the Nawab wanted to punish and remove from his office of Diwan of Patna⁶;
- (v) The Nawab was highly annoyed at the suggestion of Carnac that the Council should arbitrate upon his complaints against Ramnarayan⁷;
- (vi) The Nawab also believed that Carnac was not helping him sincerely in settling the distracted province, and crushing the power of the rebellious Zemindars;
- (vii) Mir Qāsim apprehended⁸ that Carnac was intentionally detaining the Emperor to secure the subahdari for the Company;
- (viii) It was because Carnac had brought the Emperor to Patna, that the Nawab was obliged to pay the

¹ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 15, and Beng. Sel. Com., 17th March, 1761.

² Beng. Sel. Com., 28th March, 1761.

³ Beng. Sel. Com., 9th April, 1761.

⁴ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁷ Beng. Sel. Com., 21st April, 1761.

⁸ The Shahzadah recently offered the subahdari to the Company—and refused to grant it to Mir Qāsim. (Beng. Sel. Com., 9th April, 1761.)

'peshkash', and promise a yearly tribute which had been withheld by his predecessors. The Nawab deemed it an unnecessary burden on his limited resources, and blamed the English for having unduly magnified the importance of a fugitive Mughal adventurer. He vainly¹ requested Carnac to persuade the Emperor to leave immediately, and even asked the Council at Calcutta not to recognise the Shahzadah.

Once the fiction of Shah Alam's supremacy over Bengal was acknowledged, negotiations had to be commenced on behalf of the unwilling Nawab in regard to the annual tribute payable to the Emperor. Shitab Rai was the intermediary in these negotiations,² and after a good deal of bargaining, it was settled that the Nawab was to pay 24 lakhs of rupees annually.³ While these negotiations were going on, Mir Qāsim learnt that Shuja-ud-daulah under the pretence of paying his respects to the Emperor was coming towards Bihar in order to create disturbances and help the disaffected.⁴ The Nawab grew very nervous at this, and determined to prevent a junction between the Wazir of Oudh and the Emperor. He wrote to the Governor saying that Shuja-ud-daulah should not be allowed to enter Bihar on any account. Mr. Vansittart placated the Nawab by asking the Wazir to remain on the confines of his own dominions.⁵

Matters were thus in a confused state at Patna. The Emperor was ill at ease, impatient to be escorted to Delhi. The Nawab was eager to see him leave his country. Hard pressed for money, he bitterly complained to Mr. Vansittart against Carnac, and Ramnarayan was alleged to have refused so far to submit the accounts of his administration of Bihar. It was at this juncture that Carnac was superseded⁶ by Coote who was

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 28th March, 1761.

² The Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 356.

³ Tarikh-i-Muzaffari. (Alld. Univ. MS.) p. 737. Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 356; Siyar, p. 703. (Lucknow Text.)

⁴ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 8 and Beng. Sel. Com., 28th March, 1761.

⁵ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 286 A., p. 135.

⁶ Vans. I, p. 191.

sent to Patna with civil powers also.¹ Mr. Vansittart again committed the mistake of acquainting the Nawab that Coote was to obey all his injunctions,² and thus prepared the way for a repetition of the misunderstanding that had already taken place between the Nawab and Carnac. Mir Qāsim should have been plainly told that Coote was not to be treated as his paid servant, but was to be regarded as a trusted friend. However, the Nawab fondly hoped³ that Coote would be more obedient to him than Carnac had been. Mr. Vansittart repeatedly assured him that Coote would act according to his orders, and would help him in all matters.⁴

The Nawab, shrewd and selfish as he was, wanted to win over Coote, and regulate the affairs of Bihar according to his own fancy through the latter's help and active co-operation. He spared no pains to secure the alliance of the Colonel, but his disappointment was acute when he realised that the latter was not going to be a puppet in his hands! The Nawab wrote to Mr. Vansittart, 'I have observed all the customs and forms in entertainments of eating and reciprocal visits more attentively and more heartily with him than I ever did with any other person'.⁵ The Nawab's words are too significant to be lost sight of. There is no doubt about the fact that he aimed at cultivating the friendship of Coote with the ulterior object of using him as a tool in his designs specially against Ramnarayan. He was, however, tactless from the very beginning, and alienated the sympathy of Coote. Firstly, he showed an exaggerated aversion to Nand Kumar whom Coote had appointed as his Diwan.⁶ Secondly, he unreasonably insisted that Coote should visit him before meeting Shah Alam,⁷ which the Colonel rightly refused to do.⁸ Thirdly, he did not conceal his repugnance to the want of sufficient

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 20th May, 1761.

² Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 233, p. 95. ³ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6.

⁴ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, Nos. 245 and 246, pp. 102-5.

⁵ Vans. I, p. 209. ⁶ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 7.

⁷ Beng. Sel. Com., 15th June, 1761.

⁸ *Ibid.*, and Coote's Diary (Orme MSS.) quoted by Prof. Dodwell in his 'Dupleix and Clive', p. 209 (footnote).

humidity in Coote's conduct during the first interview,¹ and imagined that it was due to the intrigue of the disaffected.² Lastly, he needlessly irritated Coote who was known to have disapproved of the late revolution by bluntly inquiring of him whether another Nawab would be appointed in his place.³ Such a greeting, as Professor Dodwell truly remarks, was ill-calculated to convert Coote.⁴ Besides, during the first interview⁵ the Nawab insisted that Ramnarayan, whom Coote had been instructed to protect, should be turned out immediately, and that the Emperor too should be asked to leave. Coote not only did not agree to these proposals, but criticised the Nawab's policy in spending 16 lakhs of rupees on his rabble army, and advised him to disband a large part of it. All this served to cause the Nawab's annoyance.

Mir Qāsim tried his best to humour Coote, but soon grew disgusted with him when he realised that the latter was not going to be dictated to in any way. Serious misunderstanding soon arose in connexion with the Shahzadah. The Nawab was eager to secure the 'sanad' for 'subahdari' from the latter, and complained that Coote was deliberately preventing him from getting it.⁶ He complained so bitterly of it to Mr. Vansittart that the latter really believed that Coote had intentionally opposed the Nawab's application for the sanad.⁷ The Nawab further suspected that Coote did not like that he should be confirmed in his 'subahdari' by the Emperor. As a matter of fact Coote did not maliciously oppose the Nawab's application for a 'sanad'. The Nawab himself refused to pay adequately for it to the Emperor, hence the latter did not agree to grant it. The Emperor also did not like him for his being a 'sayyid', however, he would certainly have granted the sanad, if the Nawab had been prepared to pay a handsome 'peshkash'! Mr. Vansittart himself asked him in vain to pay a decent amount.⁸ Under the circum-

¹ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 8.

² Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 8.

³ Coote's Diary, 21st May, 1761.

⁴ Prof. Dodwell's 'Dupleix and Clive', p. 209 (footnote).

⁵ Beng. Sel. Com., 5th June, 1761.

⁶ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 9.

⁷ Vans. I, p. 196.

⁸ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 209, pp. 76-7.

stances, therefore, the Nawab's complaint against Coote was a deliberate perversion of truth! The Nawab further believed without any justification that Shah Alam's departure was being forcibly delayed by Coote and Carnac.¹ He desired to get rid of his unwelcome guest by any means, fair or foul!² A part of his mutinous troops had recently attacked the Shahzadah's camp, and had been repelled by the Company's troops who reported that the Nawab himself had instigated his troops against the Emperor.³ In spite of Coote's request, he refused to proclaim the Shahzadah as Emperor.⁴

The author of the *Muzaffar-Namah* gives a graphic account of the Nawab's mean trick to bring about the quick departure of the Shahzadah.⁵ The Court eunuch, Bahadur Ali Khan, was induced to represent to his master that it was neither safe, nor dignified to stay at Patna any longer. The apparent loyalty and anxiety of his servant touched the heart of the prince, and he resolved to leave early in June. The author of the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* also says.⁶ 'The officers of the Emperor marked some change in the conduct of Qasim Ali Khan.' They thus perfectly corroborate the statement of Carnac that the Nawab bribed some of the Shahzadah's officers so that they might induce their master to go.⁷

The Nawab's object was soon realised. The Emperor left Patna on the 5th of June.⁸ Before his departure, usual ceremonies and formalities had to be gone through, and the leave-taking proved a costly affair to Mir Qāsim. He had to offer the customary presents including a number of elephants and

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 8th May, 1761.

² Mr. Holwell thus defended the attitude of the Nawab: 'That the Nawab should be anxious to get the King out of the provinces as soon as possible, we can account for, and justly vindicate, from causes very obvious.' *Vide* his 'Refutation of a Letter from Certain Gentlemen of the Council at Bengal'.

³ Beng. Sel. Com., 8th May, 1761.

⁴ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 17, Beng. Sel. Com., 6th May, 1761.

⁵ *Muzaffar-Namah* (Alld. Univ. MS.), pp. 315-6.

⁶ *J.B.O.R.S.*, V, p. 386, and 'Riyazus-Salatin (A.S.B. Text)', p. 381'.

⁷ Beng. Sel. Com., 21st April, 1761.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 13th June, 1761.

other valuable articles,¹ and a cash 'nazar' of a little more than two lakhs.² The Emperor in return conferred upon him a 'mansab' of 7,000 horse, and the high-sounding title³ of 'Nawab Ali Jah Nasim-ul-Mulk Imtiazu-d-daulah Qasim Ali Khan Nusrat Jang'. The Nawab, in accordance with oriental etiquette requested the Emperor to postpone his departure, regretted the small amount that he had been able to pay him, and hoped that he would be able to pay one lakh per day after the rainy season.⁴ The guest was too clever to be coaxed by the hollow formality of his host, and he left with a detachment of Company's troops under Carnac. The Nawab was unquestionably relieved!

Mir Qāsim was now free to apply himself assiduously to the task of bringing Ramnarayan under his control. For some time past, he had tried to supplant the Naib at Patna, and now he was determined not only to drive him out of his office, but also to punish him adequately for his alleged disaffection. He had, however, failed so far to take him to task owing to the support that Ramnarayan received from Carnac and Coote. It would be better to summarise the Nawab's principal grievances against the 'Naib':—

- (i) A large amount was alleged to be due from the Naib⁵;
- (ii) The latter was reported to have refused to submit the papers and accounts regarding the 'subah' of Bihar⁶;
- (iii) The Nawab also complained of the improper behaviour of the Naib,⁷ and was annoyed at the latter's delay in welcoming him.⁸

¹ Muzaaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 317.

² Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6, and Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 229, pp. 92-93.

³ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), p. 386, and 'Riyazus-Salatin (A.S.B. Text), p. 381'.

⁴ Coote's Letter, *vide* Beng. Sel. Com., 13th June, 1761.

⁵ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 7. Beng. Sel. Com., 21st April, 1761.

⁶ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 234, p. 96.

⁷ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6.

⁸ Muzaaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 312.

- (iv) Nawab further suspected him to have been responsible for the confusion of affairs in his 'subah', and charged him with the grossest disaffection.¹
- (v) Ramnarayan was further held responsible for the difficulties in collecting the total dues from the Zemindars²;
- (vi) The Nawab even complained of numerous disturbances in the province by Ramnarayan's men³;
- (vii) Ramnarayan was supposed to have inflamed the mind of Coote against the Nawab⁴;
- (viii) The Nawab was also mistrustful of him owing to his alleged intimacy with the Shahzadah⁵;
- (ix) The Naib was reputed to be extremely rich, and the Nawab believed that the latter must have been regularly misappropriating Government revenues⁶;
- (x) Ramnarayan was alleged to have spread the report that the Nawab was preparing to attack the English force at Patna⁷; and,
- (xi) He was reported to have proclaimed the Shahzadah as Emperor without the Nawab's sanction, or knowledge.⁸

It is clear from contemporary evidence that the above complaints are either entirely groundless, or grossly exaggerated. He certainly delayed in submitting his accounts, and failed to submit the whole of it. Besides, it is certain that he did prejudice Coote against the Nawab only to escape the latter's wrath, and earn the goodwill of the former. The other charges could never be proved, and were only vague insinuations. It is an undisputed fact that the Nawab had from the very beginning of his rule showed a profound distrust⁹ of Ramnarayan on account of his known connexion with the English, and only looked for an opportunity to humiliate and punish him. The Nawab's

¹ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴ Muzaffar-Namah, p. 319. (Alld. Univ. MS.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁶ First Report, p. 164 (Carnac's evidence). Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 9.

⁷ Vans. I, p. 216.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁹ Muzaffar-Namah (MS.), p. 317; Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 363; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (MS.), p. 774; Siyar, p. 705. (Lucknow Text.)

object was to get rid of all those people who had any connexion with the Company. He knew that Ramnarayan had been maintained by Clive as a check on his predecessor, and would remain so on him, if he was not to be immediately removed.¹ He represented² the protection that the English officers had been consistently giving to the Naib, and bitterly complained about it to Mr. Vansittart in order to prejudice him³ against the former, and even succeeded in convincing him of the disaffection and treachery of Ramnarayan.⁴ The Nawab counted upon Mr. McGuire as his friend whom he won over by bestowing upon him constant favours and presents.⁵ Mr. McGuire was induced by the shrewd Nawab to report to the Governor against Ramnarayan.⁶ It must be understood, however, that the Select Committee had successively instructed Carnac and Coote to support the cause of Ramnarayan, and protect his life and honour.⁷ To Ramnarayan himself the Governor wrote several times promising him his support.⁸ Carnac was informed by the Select Committee, 'We direct you, in case of necessity, to protect Ramnarayan against all violence and injustice that may be offered to his person, honour, or fortune'.⁹ It is because Carnac defended the Naib from any maltreatment that he incurred the wrath of the Nawab.¹⁰ The latter on his part persisted in complaining against Ramnarayan's chicanery and deceitfulness.¹¹ Coote was, therefore, specially instructed to adjust the misunder-

¹ Scrafton's 'Observations on Mr. Vansittart's Narrative, p. 32'.

² Beng. Sel. Com., 18th June, 1761. *Vide* minute of dissent by Amyatt who rightly argued that the Nawab had been fully aware of the firm friendship existing between Ramnarayan and the English, and it was for this alone that the Nawab wanted to ruin him. Mr. Amyatt further stated that the Naib had never been disloyal, nor had he misappropriated the revenues. Mr. Amyatt's minute, and that of Mr. Ellis cannot be lightly rejected on the ground of their bias against the Nawab.

³ Vans. I, pp. 217-8. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 196. ⁵ Siyar, 706.

⁶ Letter from Mr. McGuire to Mr. Vansittart, 17th June, 1761.

⁷ Vans. I, p. 180 and p. 193.

⁸ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, Nos. 155 and 257. Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 61.

⁹ Beng. Sel. Com., 9th February, 1761.

¹⁰ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 7.

¹¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 28th April, 1761.

standing amicably, and to protect the Naib from oppression, and also to support him in the government of Patna.¹

Mr. Vansittart at first wanted to be lenient to Ramnarayan, and requested the Nawab to settle his accounts amicably.² But, the Nawab went on complaining with redoubled bitterness, and scarcely a letter passed between him and the Governor, which did not contain some imputation against the Naib. Mr. Vansittart was at last convinced of the latter's guilt.³ With his characteristic generosity, he permitted the Nawab to do as he pleased with Ramnarayan⁴; and rebuked the latter for the impropriety of his conduct.⁵ This marked the Governor's tacit acquiescence in the Nawab's policy against the Naib, and the virtual withdrawal of protection so long promised to him. The Nawab, in order to be sure of the alliance of Mr. Amyatt whom he knew to be a supporter of the Naib sent Ghulam Hussain to Calcutta on a confidential mission to Mr. Amyatt. Ghulam Hussain writes⁶....‘(the Nawab)....proposed to me a voyage to Calcutta. “You are,” said he “in connection with Mr. Amyatt, the great supporter of Ramnarayan. I wish, therefore, you would go to Calcutta, and manage so as that he might let go his hold of that man, and join me, as I want the Council’s consent for my bringing that Governor under control”.’

At Patna, however, Coote consistently supported Ramnarayan who represented to him with reason that he could not clear off the accounts unless the Zemindars paid their arrears of revenue.⁷ Mr. Vansittart strongly objected to Coote's excessive attachment to the Naib.⁸

Ramnarayan had been virtually suspended from his office in April,⁹ and was ordered in May to submit all his papers. It must be admitted that his accounts had not been properly kept,

¹ *Ibid.*, 21st April, 1761.

² Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 224, pp. 95-96.

³ Vans. I, p. 196.

⁴ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, Nos. 263 and 291.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 264, p. 118.

⁶ Siyar, p. 705 (Lucknow Text) and Translation (Calcutta Reprint). II, p. 412.

⁷ Beng. Sel. Com., 5th June, 1761.

⁸ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 309, pp. 153-4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 245, pp. 102-3.

and he was now in a great difficulty. He knew that the Nawab was bent on punishing him, so he could not expect any leniency from the Nawab. He sought to avail himself of the protection of Coote, and quickly managed to make friends with him. It is from him that Coote received innumerable reports about the hostile intentions harboured by Mir Qāsim against the English.¹ Most of these no doubt originated in 'bazaar' gossip, and were highly exaggerated stories—but the clever 'Naib' knew that it was only by thoroughly poisoning Coote's mind against the Nawab that he might escape the latter's tyranny. Coote was already annoyed with the Nawab for his reluctance² to proclaim the Shahzadah as Emperor even though the latter had left Patna. The Nawab too was indignant with Coote for his strong attitude, and suspected that the latter was negotiating to obtain the Diwani for the Company from the Emperor.³ Under the circumstances, it is quite natural that there should have arisen a serious misunderstanding between the Nawab and Coote.⁴ The latter, therefore, readily believed all that Ramnarayan, or others used to tell him about the Nawab and his designs.

Mir Qāsim was asked by Coote to enter the fort on 15th June, and cause the 'sikkahs' to be struck, and the 'khutbah' to be read in Shah Alam's name, but this the Nawab refused to do (although he had agreed⁵ previously), unless the English sepoys and guards were removed from the city gates.⁶ It was without doubt a frivolous objection, and naturally irritated Coote. He rightly pointed out to the Nawab that these sepoys had been instructed to obey his orders, were a part of his own army, and that they were absolutely necessary to protect the Nawab from his own mutinous troops who were intent on plundering the city according to his own report.⁷ Coote had also agreed to place some of the Nawab's people together with his own at the gates. It was therefore certainly strange that the Nawab wanted to drive the Company's sentries and guards from the city. Coote

¹ Siyar, p. 706. (Lucknow Text.) ² Vans. I, p. 243 (Coote's Letter).

³ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, Nos. 355 and 386.

⁴ Abs. P.L.I., 1759–65, p. 19. ⁵ Vans. I, p. 211.

⁶ Coote's Letter to Mr. Vansittart, Narrative, I, p. 239.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

cannot be blamed, if he regarded it as an indication of the Nawab's inexplicable suspicion and jealousy of the English troops. At any rate, it was clear that Mir Qāsim wanted to postpone the function of the proclamation on some excuse. The Nawab gave no reply till the 15th, when he suddenly sent a letter to Coote at night curtly refusing to stir out of his camp, and perform the ceremony in person unless the sepoys were removed from the gates. The time, and the manner of sending the letter mystified Coote, and aroused his suspicion. He, therefore, decided to see the Nawab next morning, and settle the matter satisfactorily. It is noteworthy that the Nawab did not grant an interview. This naturally intensified the suspicions of Coote who ordered messengers to watch what passed in the Nawab's camp, and to report to him everything about it.¹

Ramnarayan heard all about it, and deemed this a fit opportunity to be exploited to his advantage. There is sufficient evidence to prove Ramnarayan's scheme to bring about an open rupture between Coote and the Nawab. He offered a bribe of Rs. 2,000 to one of Coote's messengers, and induced him to inform the Colonel that the Nawab was busy preparing a surprise attack on the city.² He also met Coote in person, and informed him that Mir Qāsim cherished hostile intentions against the English³; and in order to further convince Coote of it, he ordered his own troops to be in readiness.⁴ Coote was informed that the Nawab had doubled his guards,⁵ and that unusual military preparations were apace.⁶ All these reports naturally made Coote anxious for his own safety, as the greater part of the forces had been taken away by Carnac. He resolved to have an interview with the Nawab next morning, and at about six started with 30 European Cavalry and a company of sepoys who were his usual attendants.⁷ He had sent Mr. Watts earlier to inform the Nawab that he was coming to wait upon him.⁸

¹ Vans. I, p. 242.

² Muzaffar-Namah (MS.), p. 318.

³ Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 604. ⁴ Siyar, p. 706.

⁵ Coote's Letter to Mr. Vansittart, *Narrative*, I, p. 242.

⁶ Coote's Diary, 15-16th June, 1761. Reference in Professor Dodwell's 'Dupleix and Clive', p. 209.

⁷ First Report. Coote's evidence, p. 166.

⁸ Vans. I, p. 245.

Coote reached the Nawab's tents by seven, and alighted near the Durbar tent. He did not intrude into the private tents, as alleged by the Nawab.¹ Mr. Watts told him that the Nawab was still asleep in his zenana.² As a matter of fact, the Nawab was not sleeping, he simply remained inside, and purposely refused to see Coote.³ The latter with pistols in his hands for personal security went to the Durbar tent, and waited for some time. The Nawab, however, did not come out.⁴ Coote then went away leaving an officer to inform the Nawab about his visit, and apologise on his behalf for having come at an early hour.⁵ This incident the Nawab characteristically described as a pre-meditated insult. He charged Coote with violent trespass into his private tents, and sent a highly exaggerated account of the affair to Mr. Vansittart.⁶ Coote did not go near the zenana, nor did he behave indecently. He did not carry cocked pistols, and did not leave troops at the zenana as alleged by the Nawab.⁷ The affair might have been overlooked as due to clear misunderstanding, but the Nawab used it⁸ as a convenient pretext for humiliating Coote, and securing the latter's recall. Mir Qāsim was determined that Coote must leave Patna, and he magnified the incident in such a way⁹ that Mr. Vansittart was perfectly convinced of Coote's guilt.¹⁰ He formally protested against his improper behaviour without giving any consideration to the special circumstances which had obliged Coote to visit the Nawab's camp in an unusual manner, and even wrote apologetically to the Nawab expressing his abhorrence of Coote's action.¹¹ The Nawab further complained of Coote's interference with his administrative affairs.¹²

¹ *Ibid.* ² Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 604; *Siyar*, p. 706.

³ Muzaffar-Namah (MS.), p. 318.

⁴ Coote's Diary, 17th June, 1761. Reference in Professor Dodwell's 'Dupleix and Clive', p. 209.

⁵ Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 604. *Siyar*, p. 706.

⁶ *Siyar*, p. 706. ⁷ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 9.

⁸ *Siyar*, p. 706. Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 604.

⁹ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 9. ¹⁰ Vans. I, pp. 234-35.

¹¹ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 322.

¹² Vans. I, 213. Coote defends his conduct with cogent reasons. *Vide* his letter, Vans. I, pp. 246-249.

The Select Committee decided that both Coote and Carnac should leave Bihar. They were recalled accordingly.¹ Coote left Patna early in July, but meanwhile he had compelled² the unwilling Nawab to proclaim Shah Alam as Emperor. Mir Qāsim was now free to revenge himself on Ramnarayan who was left without any supporter after the departure of Carnac and Coote. The Nawab had recently offered³ a bribe of seven lakhs and a half of rupees to Coote, if he would surrender Ramnarayan to him, but Coote had refused to betray the latter, now the Nawab was relieved that the Naib had lost all his friends and partisans.

In vain did Ramnarayan ask for permission to leave the country⁴ and he wrote to Shuja-ud-daulah also soliciting his help.⁵ There was no escape, however, from the Nawab's clutches! He had already been formally dismissed from his office in June by the Nawab with the concurrence of the Select Committee.⁶ Mr. Vansittart, however, interceded on behalf of the ex-Naib,⁷ and even requested the Nawab to re-instate him, if his accounts were found satisfactory,⁸ but he made it clear that in case Ramnarayan failed to pay the dues, he might be dealt with in any manner the Nawab should choose!⁹ This was giving a free hand to the Nawab, and marked a complete reversal of the policy pursued by Clive.

Rajballabh who had been recently deputed to audit Ramnarayan's accounts¹⁰ was appointed Naib in place of the latter with the approval of the Governor¹¹ on the 1st of August.¹² The

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 26th June, 1761.

² *Ibid.*, 29th June, 1761.

³ First Report. Coote's evidence, p. 166.

⁴ Beng. Sel. Com., 12th July, 1761.

⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., Vol. 1761, p. 328.

⁶ Beng. Sel. Com., 18th June, 1761.

⁷ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 309, p. 153.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 322, p. 159.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 350, p. 175.

¹⁰ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 43.

¹¹ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 350, p. 175.

¹² Third Report, 1773, p. 328 (*vide* Mr. McGuire's letter).

new 'Naib' had always been a jealous rival of Ramnarayan, and had tried to displace him. It is highly significant therefore that he was appointed by the Nawab to check the accounts of his predecessor. Not only did he satisfy the Nawab by reporting against Ramnarayan, but also requested Carnac to procure him the 'Niabat' of Patna, and even offered him a bribe of Rs. 50,000. Carnac rightly rebuked him, for this insolence.¹ Mr. Vansittart was more complaisant to him, and recommended him to the Nawab for the Naib's office.²

Ramnarayan failed to submit all his papers even by the end of August. He was then subjected to a severe cross-examination in the Central Revenue office in regard to his accounts, and those of his clerks who had been reported to have absconded at his instance were arrested by the Nawab's men with all their records and books.³ Numerous discrepancies were found in the accounts.⁴ The Nawab then immediately confiscated Ramnarayan's entire property, and seized all that he could secure even from the servants and dependents of the latter.⁵ Mr. Vansittart did not object to this, and ultimately directed Mr. Hay to deliver Ramnarayan into the Nawab's hands.⁶ After having plundered him, and all his associates, Mir Qāsim put them into prison⁷ where they remained till their subsequent massacre. The Select Committee had piously hoped that the Nawab would not go to the length of attacking the life, or honour of Ramnarayan,⁸ how little the members knew yet of the Nawab's ferocity and vengeance! The signal punishment of Ramnarayan was a significant demonstration of the successful assertion by the Nawab of his complete independence which he had so long eagerly coveted.

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 29th June, 1761. (Carnac's letter.)

² Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 352, p. 176.

³ Siyar, p. 707. (Lucknow Text.)

⁴ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), V, p. 605.

⁵ *Ibid.* and Siyar, p. 707. (Lucknow Text.)

⁶ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 362, pp. 182-3.

⁷ Muzaffar-Namah, p. 320 (MS.); Siyar, p. 707. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, M.S., p. 774.

⁸ Beng. Sel. Com., 26th June, 1761.

A survey of the contemporary evidence in regard to Ramnarayan makes it quite clear that the latter could not satisfactorily account for his late administration, as he had been a lax administrator. The Nawab, however, used this as a pretext for ruining one whom he dreaded as a powerful protege of the Company's officers. Ramnarayan committed the greatest blunder in completely alienating the Nawab's sympathy by placing too much reliance on his friendship with Carnac and Coote who were really helpless against the decision of the Select Committee. The Nawab's demand of the Naib's accounts according to the latter's original agreement¹ with Mir Jafar was manifestly unjust! The devastation of the country owing to the campaigns of the Shahzadah, the open disaffection of numerous Zemindars, the maintenance of a large army to cope with the invasions, and the unrealised balance from the Zemindars were some of the factors which should have been considered while adjusting Ramnarayan's accounts. Besides, the latter agreed to pay in lieu of his arrears 50 lakhs of rupees.² The Nawab was not satisfied till he confiscated his whole property, and placed him in confinement. It is impossible to defend this vindictive punishment meted out to Ramnarayan. It may be conceded that Mr. Vansittart was not strictly bound to protect³ a subordinate of the Nawab, if he failed to discharge his duty, but it cannot be forgotten that Ramnarayan held a position which was not exactly similar to that of an ordinary functionary of the Nawab's government, and that he had been induced to offer allegiance to the late Nawab on condition that the Company would safeguard his person and honour.⁴ Besides, it is strange that in spite of his payment of the aforesaid sum, he was not restored to his office, nor was he allowed to leave the country even after the confiscation of his whole property. Mr. Vansittart committed a regrettable mistake in acquiescing in his imprisonment

¹ For details *vide* Beng. Sel. Com., 17th May, 1761.

² Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 378, pp. 192-3. Third Report. Appendix I, p. 330 (Letter from Mr. Hay, 7th September, 1761).

³ Robert Grant defends the attitude of the Governor. *Vide* his 'Sketch', pp. 203-4.

⁴ Bengal Sel. Com., 24th January, 4th February, and 18th February, 1758.

His own defence is weak, and unconvincing. He wrote, 'I supported Ramnarayan until it became a dispute whether he should be accountable to the Nawab for the revenues of the province, or not'.¹ He does not explain why he did not object to the vindictive punishment of Ramnarayan after the confiscation of his entire property. It was practically betraying him in spite of the repeated pledges that had been made in the past.

The Nawab's stay at Patna is of great importance in the history of his short rule. He got rid of the Shahzadah, prevented a close alliance between him and the Company, secured the recall of Carnac and Coote, ruined Ramnarayan and his associates, established his complete control over Patna, and finally freed himself from the control of the Company's officials. In achieving his object, he showed remarkable tact, foresight, and finesse, and his shrewd diplomacy certainly proved him more than a match for the well-meaning Governor.

¹ Vansittart's 'Letter to the Proprietors of East India Stock', p. 71.

V.—The Study of Folk-lore and Tradition in India.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

It is a matter of gratification to find that at long last, Folk-lore and Tradition which is really a most fascinating field of study is beginning to receive in India some recognition from serious students of History. It is now included among the subjects of investigation and discussion by the Indian Science Congress and the Oriental Conference and it has been included as a subject of research and discussion by the Bombay Historical Congress which held its first annual meeting in December last.

The collection of folk-lore material, particularly folk-traditions and folk-customs and folk-rites, has not hitherto been altogether neglected in India. But the task of systematising, sifting and analysing them yet remains to be undertaken. The Purāṇas and the two great Epics of India, particularly the *Mahābhārata*, are undoubtedly rich store-houses of ancient Indian tradition. A few later mediæval Śāṃskrit writings also deal with folk-tales and folk-traditions. In our own days, some educated Indians in different Provinces of this continent have also turned their attention to this interesting study, and, as a result, a few collections of folk-tales and fairy-tales, dear to the heart of our children, have been published in some of our vernacular literatures. Besides collections of Indian Folk-lore by European writers like Crooke, Enthoven, Bompas, Bödding, and Mrs. Rafy, a few Indian writers have also published in the English language short collections of Indian folk-tales and accounts of certain Indian folk-customs and folk-beliefs. Such are the book on '*Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials*' by the late Mr. Gupte, a book on '*Ancient Indian Fasts and Feasts*' by Professor Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukherji of Allahabad, '*Folk-tales of Orissa*' by Mr. Godavaris Misra and another book of the same name by Mr. Upendra Nath Dutta Gupta and the pioneer book of this class in English in India—'*The Folk-tales of Bengal*' by Revd. Lal Bihari Dey. A cultured Bengali lady Shovana Devi, has also

brought out three small collections of *Hindu Folk-lore* in the English language, entitled respectively—‘*Oriental Pearls*’, ‘*Indian Nature Myths*’, and ‘*Indian Fables and Folk-lore*’.

Although some amount of folk-lore material has thus been collected and published, a good deal has, through the neglect of centuries, been irretrievably lost and forgotten. Yet fortunately, a vast mass of folk-lore material,—traditional stories and ballads, sayings and superstitions, beliefs and customs,—are still preserved in folk-memory and folk-practice and are waiting to be recorded before they suffer from detrition and decay.

Folk-lore materials abound everywhere in India. In fact, like Molière’s hero who was all his life talking prose without knowing it, the bulk of our people may be said to live, move and have their being in an atmosphere of folk-lore without being conscious of it. Folk-rites bulk large in the ceremonies attending a Hindu’s birth and childhood, adolescence and youth, marriage, disease and death. Folk-customs, folk-beliefs and folk-observances haunt us at every step of our journey in life. They appear in every grade of society. They are found not only among the folk or masses but among the classes as well, not only among the ‘lower’ Hindu castes and aboriginal tribes but also among our ‘higher’ castes and communities—Hindu and Muhammadan, Christian and Zoroastrian.

Thus, when in the Konkan and in Bengal, people find good or bad omens in sneezing according to the time of sneezing and the position of the person who sneezes, or when a knife is placed under the bed of a parturient woman in order that the mother and child may not be attacked by a mischievous spirit,¹ or when a woman in child-bed is not allowed to see the face of her husband nor he of her,² the people are following folk-custom.

Similarly when in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, people take care on rising in the morning to avoid seeing the face or uttering the name of a miserly person or a particularly unlucky person or a childless person, or when in the morning if they see anyone rubbing only one eye they ask him to rub both eyes, or when

¹ Crooke, *Religion and Folk-lore in Northern India*, p. 373.

² *Ibid.*, p. 293.

they avoid seeing their faces in a broken mirror or eating salt left in another's plate, or shaving on the day of the week on which they were born, or jumping over a sleeping person or attending a call of nature with their faces to the sun or with wooden shoes on, or, while starting on a journey, they avoid seeing an empty water-vessel or eating plantains or meeting a barber or washerman or a oilman (*kalu*), or when in the evening they happen to look at the sky and see only one star there they do not take away their eyes until they see another, or, in some places, three more stars,—they are following folk-custom.

Again, when at a Pārsi wedding in Bombay, the priests throw rice on the heads of the pair, and the wedding invitations are given by sending round rice dyed with turmeric³ or when, on a lower level of culture, at a Dhodhia wedding in Bombay a man blows a horn, probably to scare evil spirits, and rubs the bodies of the marrying couple from head to foot with grains of rice,⁴ or when Māhārs in Khandesh wave a cocoanut or a piece of bread round the groom's head,⁴ or when in Gujarat a man takes seven cotton threads to a place where owls are hooting, and there strips himself naked and ties a knot in the threads at every hoot and fastens the threads round the right arm of a patient suffering from fever in order to cure him,⁴—we see instances of folk-customs. The Pārsi custom of wrapping a sacred sheet (*sudra*) round the body of a dead cock or parrot and winding a sacred thread round it and carefully burying it, and a Pārsi's abstinence from killing or eating a cock after it has begun to crow at day-break, the various precautions taken to ward off the influence of the evil eye from a child while dressing him and decking him with ornaments, such as making a spot on the cheeks or near the neck with a black pigment or collyrium, the attention paid by various communities in the different Provinces in India to auspicious and inauspicious omens while going on a journey or transacting business or entering upon important undertakings,—these are among the countless traditional folk-customs and folk-observances current in India. It would be superfluous to multiply instances.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

⁴ Enthoven, *Folk-lore of Bombay*, p. 229.

Instances of folk-songs, folk-sayings, folk-traditions, folk-rites and folk-beliefs abound on all sides of us,—in our homes, in the lanes and streets and in the market-place, in the gardens, the fields, and the waters.

Collections of Indian Folk-lore, so far published, do not yet appear to have attracted the attention of many serious students in India. The average educated man yet regards them with amused toleration, if not contempt, or patronises them as affording amusement to the children or at best as furnishing entertaining diversion once in a way in their own hours of relaxation from serious work.

This indifference of educated Indians to ancient tradition and folk-lore, is gradually infecting even the half-educated or uneducated masses, and much of our interesting folk-lore is disappearing altogether, or suffering from degradation, attenuation or transformation beyond recognition either through transference to new sets of objects or through amalgamation with other practices and beliefs.

For a scientific study of our folk-lore it is, in the first place, essential that before this process of degradation, decay, transformation and detrition proceeds further and plays havoc among much of our existing folk-lore, no time should be lost to secure as accurate and complete records as possible of such folk-lore material as are still extant. In the second place, it will be essential for the scientific study of Indian Folk-lore to systematize and classify such folk-lore material as may be collected from different areas in the country. The next task of the folk-lorist will be to analyse each item of a folk-story or folk-rite or folk-custom or folk-belief into its component elements,—radicals as well as accessories,—and trace the life-history of each item of folk-lore with a view to restore, so far as possible, its original form and visualize it in its original setting.

A careful analysis will reveal the important fact that different sets of the folk-lore of a people are the products of different levels of culture; and the further fact that even the same folk-ritual or folk-tale may be made up of inconsistent elements which can only be understood as survivals from

different stages of intellectual culture. A few may have been arrested in their development while they were the customs or beliefs of the community in question in their savage past, some may have been arrested in their growth when the community had passed beyond savagery and reached what is called the barbaric level of cultural development, and some when they formed part of the national custom or belief of the people in their more civilized stage but came to be cast off as useless by the more progressive sections of the community and clung to only by the conservative women-folk and other non-progressive sections of the people or preserved in particular localities only.

By way of illustration, I may refer briefly to the folk-rites in the marriage customs of the higher castes of Bengali Hindus. The first thing that strikes the student is that side by side with the religious rites and ceremonies of an advanced type enjoined by the Hindu *Śāstras* and conducted by the family priests of the bride and bridegroom, there is another class of parallel rites enjoined by tradition and conducted by married ladies. The *Śāstric* rites include prayers, offerings and oblations to the gods and ancestor-spirits, and vows solemnly pronounced by the bridegroom himself and by the bride's father or other guardian who gives away the bride in the presence of the assembled friends, relatives and men of the community, besides certain symbolic rites such as joining the hands of the couple, their walking together seven paces and circumambulating the sacred *Hōma* fire with the ends of their upper garments knotted together, and so forth. As the *Śāstric* ceremonies are considered by the community to be essential for the future well-being of the wedded couple, so too are the folk-observances regarded by the women-folk (at least the unenlightened amongst them) as necessary to secure good luck and avoid ill-luck to the wedded couple. I shall not here attempt a full account of these female-folk-rites of a Bengal Hindu marriage as observed in different parts of Bengal, but shall content myself with merely mentioning the main features of those folk-rites as observed among some higher caste Hindus in the districts of Khulna and Twenty-four Parganas in Bengal.

These folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage consist of over a dozen different ceremonies of which I shall enumerate the principal ones without describing them in detail. They are all performed by married women and are as follow:—

(1) *Gātra-haridrā* or ceremonially anointing the bride and the bridegroom with turmeric paste at their respective houses on an auspicious day shortly before the day of marriage, the process of anointing being repeated every day till the day of wedding. (This corresponds to some extent to the *Ubtān* or *āptan* ceremony of Bihāri Hindus, though the Bihāri custom of *matkōr* or digging earth from *kūr-khet* or *Kumāri-kṣetra* is unknown in Bengal).

(2) *Adhibās* or inauguration ceremony consisting of invocation of divine blessings, or rather the attraction of 'luck' through contact with the good '*mana*' and kindly offices of well-dressed married ladies beloved of their husbands, and through ceremonial contact with such auspicious objects as rice (both husked and unhusked), tender grass-shoot (*dūrbā*), sandal-wood, vermillion, myrobalan, curds, honey, *ghee* (clarified butter), white mustard seeds, flowers, etc.

(3) *Jal-sādhū* or *Jal-savā*, consisting of the ceremonial drawing of water by married women who are happy in their married life, for the benedictory bathing of the marrying couple and for some other ceremonial uses at the wedding.

(4) *Dadhi-mangal*, in which, at early dawn of the wedding day, a portion of the rice, left over out of the rice used for the *ābbhudayik śrāddha* or oblations to ancestor-spirits and boiled by a woman whose husband is alive, is mixed with curds (*dahi*), sweets, etc., and is ceremonially eaten or rather tasted by the bridegroom at his own house and by the bride at her parents' house. In some communities parched rice (*chirā*) instead of *bhāt* is used for the purpose and five married women eat it in company with the bride or bridegroom as the case may be. From the bride's house five married women go with an iron knife and a new earthen vessel to a tank and 'cut the water', as it is called, that is to say, draw a rectangle over the surface of the water with the knife and dip their earthen vessel three times, face upwards, into the rectangular area thus marked out, and fills the vessel

with water. This water is known as ‘*Sōhāg-jal*’ or ‘Love-water’. In the afternoon, after the *ābbhudayik srāddha* or offering of oblations to the manes of deceased ancestors by the bride’s father or other male relative, the bride wears a red-bordered *sāri*-cloth and sits down in a room with a grain-measure (*kūnkey*, or small cane-cup) in hand and, from the vessel of ‘*sōhāg*’-water placed before her, goes on filling the cup with water and pouring the water back again into the vessel. She repeats the process again and again, and each time that she does so she mutters by turns a wish to be blessed with the affections of her husband and her husband’s parents and brothers and sisters, respectively, thus:—

‘*Sōhāg ! Sōhāg ! Swāmīr sōhāg !*’ (Love! Love! May I have my husband’s Love!);

‘*Sōhāg ! Sōhāg ! sāsūrīr* (mother-in-law’s) *Sōhāg !*’

‘*Sōhāg ! Sōhāg ! śwasurer* (father-in-law’s) *Sōhāg !*’

‘*Sōhāg ! Sōhāg ! nōnader* (husband’s sister’s) *Sōhāg !*’

‘*Sōhāg ! Sōhāg ! devarer* (husband’s younger brother’s) *Sōhāg !*’, and so on by turns. With this magic *sōhāg-jal* the family-barber washes the feet of the bridegroom before the wedding ceremonies begin.

(5) *Bhār nāmāno* and *Hāi-āmlā bātā*.—In the forenoon of the wedding day, the bridegroom in his own house and the bride at her father’s, are each seated on a painted wooden seat (*pinri*), and three married ladies sit down in front of the bride or bridegroom as the case may be, and two other married ladies cover up with a cloth the heads of the four ladies thus seated. Seated in this way and covered over with a cloth, one of the three ladies pounds some *āmlā* or myrobalan fruit, and each of the three ladies mixes a little spittle from her mouth with this pounded myrobalan. The myrobalan paste thus magnetised with the spittle of ladies beloved of their husbands is placed upon a tray or a flat bamboo-basket on which are arranged various kinds of grains and certain other auspicious or ‘*manā*’-possessing articles. The cloth is then taken off their heads and the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, stands up and a raw cotton thread dyed in turmeric is placed loosely round his or her head and moved by the three ladies downward from the

head to the feet three times ; each time the other two ladies ask them, 'What are you doing ?' They reply, 'We are taking down the burden (*bhār*) off so-and-so' (naming the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be). This turmeric-dyed thread is then tied round the left wrist of the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, with some tender grass-shoots (*dūrbā*) attached to it.

(6) *Jātrā* or ceremonies at starting to fetch the bride, when the bridegroom is provided with an iron (but now in some cases silver) knife or nut-cracker, and on being asked by his mother, 'Where are you going ?' answers, 'I am going to fetch a hand-maid for you'. (The iron knife is evidently meant to scare away evil spirits.)

(7) *Strī-āchār* proper, of which the main feature is the *Baran* or ceremonial circumambulation of the bridegroom at the bride's house by the bride's mother and a number of married women, one carrying the *baran dālā* or a flat bamboo-basket containing various auspicious or 'mana'-possessing articles, one an ornamented phallic symbol called *Akk* made of rice-flour fashioned in the shape of a cone and ornamented with red and yellow colours, another carrying a pot of benedictory water with the symbolic figure of a deity drawn upon the outer surface of the pot, a fourth carrying a pot of water charmed with love-incantations, a fifth an earthen pot with a lighted lamp inside, a sixth carrying upon a brass-plate an ornamented symbol of the goddess of Fortune (*Lakṣmī*) called *Siri* or *Sri*, a seventh carrying the tray containing a variety of grains besides the *hāi-āmlā* mentioned in (5) above, and a few other ladies carrying other auspicious ingredients, and the mother-in-law carrying a flat bamboo-basket containing twenty-one lighted wicks arranged over twenty-one shells of the *dhūtūrā* fruit.

(8) *Sāt-pāk* or ceremonially carrying or leading the bride round the bridegroom seven times.

(9) *Sindūr-dān* or ceremonial anointing of bride and bridegroom with vermillion.

(10) *Āngthi-hārāno* or concealing the bridal rings of bride and bridegroom by turns inside the mud formed by water soaking in a hole made in the ground at the spot where the bride-

groom and bride have their ceremonial bath on the morning after the actual marriage ceremony, and each attempting to find out the other's ring.

(11) *Kanakānjali* or the ceremonial handing over of some paddy by the bride to her mother by way of leaving her parent's 'luck' behind her and going to try her own luck in her husband's house.

When we attempt to classify the female-folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage, we find that some are obviously meant to symbolise and cement the marriage-tie, some appear to be intended, on the principle of sympathetic magic, to make the union happy, prosperous and fruitful; some appear to have been intended to ward off supernatural evil influences and ill-luck from the wedded couple, some are of the nature of love-charms, and some appear to be of a religious nature. We further find that not only have different groups of these folk-customs different origins but they likewise belong to different levels of culture. Thus, an undoubted instance of survival of or borrowing from 'savage' culture is the folk-custom, still found in some Bengali Hindu communities, of soaking a rag in the bride's urine and, when dried up, rolling it up into a thick wick which is saturated with mustard oil and lighted in a large earthen cup fed with mustard seeds and waved in front of the bridegroom's palanquin or car on his arrival at the gate of the bride's place for the wedding. This savage custom, now fallen into disuse in many places, would appear to have originated with a double object, namely, that of scaring away evil spirits and also that of operating as a love-charm.

On a somewhat higher level of culture stands the female folk-custom called '*sōhāg-jhārā*' which, too, is still in vogue in some Bengali Hindu communities. This curious custom is as follows :—

Five well-dressed women whose husbands are living and who are particularly happy in their married life wear each at the posteriors a thick cloth below the waist over their *sārī*-cloth and each by turns sits down three times on a new basket filled to the brim with sun-dried paddy or unhusked rice and marked on its outer side with two conventional human figures painted

with vermillion diluted in *ghee* or clarified butter. Each time while sitting down on the basket of paddy, the lady says:—

‘*Sōhāg! Sōhāg! Swāmīr sōhāg jherey dilām*,’ i.e.—
‘Love! Love! I communicate a husband’s love (through this paddy)’. The five ladies then thresh the paddy, and besmear it with turmeric; and the rice thus magnetized with the ‘good luck’ of wives well-beloved of their husbands, is the only rice used in the marriage ritual.

The religious or quasi-religious folk-rites of *strī-āchār* will be found to stand on a much higher level of culture than the rest and to have a different origin.

The original purpose of most of these folk-rites and ceremonies of a Bengali Hindu marriage is however no longer known to the ladies who practise them, and all that they can say is that they observe them because their forbears did so before them and that any omission to do so may bring ill-luck to the married couple.

Some of these folk-rites which appear to be anomalous and irrational when found in advanced communities and are no longer intelligible to their civilized performers, become intelligible only when we view them side by side with analogous rites and ceremonies of more primitive communities for whom they have sufficient meaning and purpose, as they are in perfect accord with their manners and ideas.

It is through such comparative study alone that we can see the primitive basis of such practices and their underlying beliefs. Thus, when in Chōṭā-Nāgpur, we see the relatives of a Mūndā or Orāon bride, with the avowed object of scaring away evil spirits and the ‘evil eye’, flourishing swords outside the screen within which the *sindūr-dān* (vermillion-anointing) ceremony of a marriage is taking place, we come to understand the original purpose of the Bengali custom which requires a bridegroom to carry in his hands a knife or a nut-cracker which is obviously the present-day substitute for a sword. Similarly when we see two elderly Mūndā women, one carrying an unsheathed sword and another a bow and arrow, accompanying four maidens who draw water in pitchers for use in the marriage

rites, and passing the weapons over their shoulders so as to touch the pitchers and thereby protect the water from the evil attentions of wicked spirits or the evil eye, we come to appreciate the original object behind the Bengali folk-custom of 'cutting with a *dā*' or vegetable-cutter the water known as '*Sōhāg-jal*' which is drawn from a tank after the '*Dadhimangal*' ceremony at dawn on the wedding day for magical purposes in a Bengali Hindu marriage. When we see the bridegroom and bride in a *Mündā* marriage touching each other's neck with a bit of rag tinged respectively with his or her own blood, and by way of symbolic repetition of the same rite of exchange of blood, smear each other on the forehead with *sindūr* or red-lead, we perhaps see the significance of the *sindūr-dān* rite which forms an essential feature of the female-folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu wedding, though it does not appear to form any part of the *Śāstric* ritual. The only application of blood to the forehead of the bridegroom in the folk-ritual of a Bengali Hindu marriage now survives in the custom which requires an elder sister of the Bengali bridegroom to prick her own little finger with a thorn of the *bael* (*Aegle marmelos*) tree and mark the forehead of the bridegroom with the blood thus drawn. The curious explanation now given for this practice is that in case the bride tells the bridegroom that she is afraid of going to his house as she apprehends that his sisters may harm her through their witch-craft, the bridegroom will point to the blood-mark on her forehead and tell her that she need have no fears as he has killed his sisters and marked his forehead with their blood. This may be either an instance of degradation or attenuation of an ancient custom or its transformation by transference to a new set of objects, or it may be an instance of borrowing in the past on the part of Bengali Hindus of a savage custom from the ruder indigenes of their country. The original primitive custom of mixing the blood still survives in the *Nāh-chhōr* ceremony of a Bihāri Hindu marriage, which consists of drawing a little blood from the fingers of bride and bridegroom and mixing them together.

The similarities noticed above between some of the folk-rites of a Bengal Hindu marriage and the analogous rites of a

Mündā marriage,⁵ do not necessarily point to their Mündā origin. True, the existence of ruder elements in the culture of a civilized people points to the existence of a ruder race or races who originated them. But these rude originators of such customs might very well have been their own forefathers at a former and ruder stage of their culture rather than some other race, whether indigenous or not, with whom they came in intimate contact in the past. In fact, with regard to these folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage, it may not appear improbable that they were the older and perhaps the only marriage rites of the Bengali people (or rather their dominant racial element) before the Śāstric rites came to be superimposed upon them, relegating these older rites to the custody of the more conservative female-folk.

All Indian folk-customs do not, however, represent survivals of primitive custom and ritual whose natural development has been arrested. There is a quite distinct and distinctive class of folk-rites, folk-customs and folk-stories which appear to have been originally devised by higher civilization to bring higher ideals of religion and morality and social relations home to the minds of the more backward classes of the population.

Just as a certain class of folk-rites and folk-customs connected with a Hindu wedding and their underlying ideas can be explained and understood by a reference to similar customs among our aboriginal tribes and other backward communities, so too the true significance of this other group of folk-rites can only be appreciated by a reference to the highly advanced religious rites and customs enjoined by the Hindu *Shāstras*. In fact, this class of our *strī-āchār* rites, like the *Vratā* ceremonies of Hindu ladies, may be appropriately called the popular and simplified editions of corresponding Śāstric rites and ceremonies. These are meant to express and enhance the Hindu's belief in the spiritual function of marriage. Thus the ceremonies referred to above such as *adhibās* or ceremonial inauguration of the bridegroom and bride, *jal-sādhā* or ceremonial drawing of water for the auspicious wedding-rites, *baran* or ceremonially welcom-

⁵ For an account of the rites and ceremonies of a Mündā marriage, see *The Mündās and Their Country*, pp. 444-454.

ing the bridegroom with benedictory gestures and joyous sounds of ululation, the waving of lamps and other auspicious objects, and the *pradakṣīna* or ceremonial circumambulation by married ladies round the bridegroom, which form prominent features of the *strī-āchār* of a Hindu marriage, are all only simplified forms of ceremonies of the *adhibās*, *ghat-ānyan*, *ārati*, and *pradakṣīṇ* ceremonies observed in the worship of the greater Hindu deities. The crowns made of coloured pith and tinsel (the *topar* of the bridegroom, and the *mōr* or *mour* of the bride) probably represent the *mūkūts* or crowns worn by the images of the higher Hindu gods and goddesses. The object of such folk-rites in a Hindu marriage is obviously to sacralise or sanctify the marriage tie in the eyes of the women folk, and to elevate it, in their estimation, from a mere biological and socio-economical relationship to a holy religious sacrament. The wedded couple are honoured even as deities, thus emphasizing the spiritual essence of man and the spiritual function of all human relationships. Such *strī-āchār* ceremonies would indeed appear to have been originally designed to serve as a system of object-teaching or 'kindergarten,' so to say, by which to impress the sanctity and spiritual ideal of the marriage-relationship upon the women folk and upon the backward Hindu or Hinduised communities to whom the *Śāstrik* rites and *mantras* or formulæ are unintelligible jargon. In this way with the aid of these simple but impressive folk-rites the marriage ritual is charged with a new and deeper meaning for the unenlightened and unprogressive sections of the community.

This latter class of folk-rites would appear to be among the special contributions of Aryan Hindu culture to the cultural development of the Indian masses. These *strī-āchār* rites, like the *Vrata* ceremonies and *Vrata-Kathās* of Hindu females, constitute a powerful civilizing force. They are the outcome of an effective popular system of religious and moral education wisely devised by the religious teachers and social leaders of ancient Hindusthān. And one is tempted to imagine some enlightened Hindu ladies of ancient India, if not devising, at least helping in the growth of this class of *Strī-āchār* rites. It is probably with reference to these, among other, *āchāras* or customs that it is

laid down in Hindu religious books that *Āchāra* or customary rites, *Mantras* or religious formulæ and invocations, and *Prīti* or love are the three essential requisites of a complete or approved (*siddha*) Hindu marriage.

As may be expected, this class of folk-rites have their analogues in the folk-rites of the Hindus of Bihār, Orīssā and some other parts of India thus indicating their common Aryan Hindu origin. Such of the *Strī-āchār* rites as are common to different parts of India may be reasonably assumed to have originated from the same common source.

True, we find that almost identical rites form the essential features of the marriage ceremony of some of our aboriginal tribes, or, in fact, constitute almost the whole of their marriage ceremony. Thus, we find the counterpart of the *gātra-haridrā* ceremony of a Bengali Hindu marriage in the *sasāng-gōsō* (lit., turmeric-anointing) ceremony of the Mūndās, the counterpart of the *Adhibās* ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the *Chō* (Hindi *Chūmān*) ceremony of the Mūndās, in which the couple are touched with such 'luck'-bringing objects as rice, grass-blades, bread, etc., the counterpart of the Bengali's 'bhārnāmāno' ceremony in the 'Sutāmtōl' ceremony of the Mūndās, the counterpart of the Bengali's *Jātrā* ceremony in a part of the Mūndā's *uli-sākhi* ceremony in which the Mūndā bridegroom on being asked by his mother where he is going, replies, 'I am going to bring one who will take care of you and give you rice and vegetables', the counterpart of the *Baran* ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the *Dā-hirchi* and *Chūmān* ceremonies of a Mūndā marriage, the counterpart of the *Sāt-pāk* ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the *Chāuli-heper* ceremony of the Mūndās in which the Mūndā bride is carried on a bamboo basket three times round the bridegroom, the counterpart of the *Sindūr-dān* ceremony of Bengali Hindu women in the *sindūri-rākāb* ceremony of the Mūndās; the counterpart of the *Angthi-hārānō* ceremony of a Bengali Hindu marriage in the Mūndā custom of *Dūl-dā* in which after the *sindūri-rākāb* and *Dā-āu* rites, while they are being ceremonially bathed, the Mūndā bride and bridegroom each conceals, for the other to find out, a tiny earthen jug in

the mud formed by the water in which they have been ceremonially bathed; and the *Kanakānjali* ceremony of handing over of paddy by the Bengali bride to her mother by way of leaving her parents' *Lakshmī* or 'luck' with them, while taking leave of them, has its counterpart in the Mündā marriage rite of *Bābā-heretukām* in which the bride while leaving her parents' house throws, without looking back, three handfuls of paddy behind her, over her own head, on to her mother's *sāri*-cloth—a portion of which she stretches out to receive the paddy.

Again, the Mündās, like Bihāri Hindus, set up a *Māndōa* or mud-pulpit for the ceremony of *sasāng-gōsō* or anointing with vermillion; the *Chūmān* ceremony of a Mündā marriage has a closer resemblance to the Bihāri ceremony of the same name than to its Bengali counterpart known as *Strī-āchār*. The *ūli-sākhi* ceremony of a Mündā marriage which has no analogue in Bengali marriage ceremonial is evidently a copy of the *Imli-ghōntāi* ceremony of a Bihāri Hindu marriage. The Mündā custom of seating the bride and bridegroom on a plough-yoke covered over with straw has its parallel not in any Bengali custom but in the Bihāri custom of burying under the *māndoā* or marriage-booth a plough-yoke with some bamboo twigs. The Mündās, it may be noted, appear to have, in the course of their ancient migrations, come in contact with Hindus both of Bengal and of Bihār, and have for ages been living in close contact with Hinduisised aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes and 'depressed classes' who have derived part of their present social rites and customs and religious worship from the Hindus of Bengal or Bihār or Orissā or the Central Provinces.

A consideration of the language, manners and customs of the Mündā-speaking tribes would lead to the inference that they had no distinctive marriage ritual in the past, and that their present-day marriage ceremonial has been borrowed from neighbouring peoples of a higher culture, probably the Hindus of Bengal and of Bihār, not perhaps directly but through some neighbouring Hinduisised tribes or 'depressed' Hindu castes who had already adopted them from Bengali or Bihāri Hindus. The Mündā ordinarily uses the expression 'dō-kiā' or 'kept' to signify 'married'. This would seem to

indicate that 'keeping'—or, in other words, simply 'living together as man and wife'—would, among the Mündās, amount to marriage, though not at the present day, but in the not distant past. Even at the present day only the mere act of forcibly smearing vermillion on the forehead of a Mündā woman is taken to constitute marriage with her; and if the woman so dealt with refuses to live with the man who has smeared vermillion on her forehead, but desires to take another husband, she can only be married as a widow in the *Sānghā* or *Sāgāi* form, appropriate for a widow.

Whereas the female-folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage constitute in themselves a complete system of marriage ceremonial, the present-day marriage ceremonies of the Mündās is a hybrid system composed of certain rites which appear to have been adopted directly or indirectly from Bengali Hindus as also other rites probably borrowed directly or indirectly from either Bihāri or Chhattisgarhi Hindus or from both.

In a civilized community, too, such as among Bengali Hindus, as we have seen, different customs and beliefs may survive at different stages of arrested development, some having been arrested in their development while they were pure savage customs or beliefs, some when they were at a somewhat higher level than savagery or at what is called the barbaric level, some when they formed part of the national custom or belief (whether originally evolved by the community itself at an earlier stage of their culture or borrowed from other communities) but came in time to be cast off as useless by the more advanced classes and retained only by the women-folk or other conservative and non-progressive sections of the people or preserved only in particular localities.

It is not to be supposed that every primitive or apparently primitive trait of folk-lore found in the midst of advanced culture is an instance of arrested development at an earlier stage of culture. For, it may as well have been borrowed at a later stage of culture through culture-contact, and in time 'crystallised in domestication'.

Thus the ruder elements in the culture of a civilized people may be referred either to an earlier and ruder stage of their

own culture, or to intimate cultural contact or actual racial intermixture at some stage of their past history with some other people in a lower level of culture than their own at the time.

This points to the need of comparative and regional study of the folk-lore of different races, peoples and countries. In order to trace the probable origin of an item of folk-lore, the serious student will analyse it into its component elements which he will plot out on a map and thereby determine its focal centre and trace its diffusion to marginal areas. As the folk-lorist knows, discontinuous distribution of a particular item of folk-lore or other cultural trait may lead to the inference of the independent evolution of the same cultural trait at different centres, and among different peoples, or it may be found that what began as a wave of diffusion assumed, in the course of its progress from one area to another, increasingly modified forms under local influences, and continued to develop each on its own line, until, in some instances, these parallel lines perhaps converged once more. Sometimes an item of folk-lore thus modified through varying local influences may be found to combine with other cultural elements and constitute what in anthropological literature is known as a 'culture-complex'. When several unrelated cultural traits thus combine to form a culture-complex and appear in widely separated regions and unconnected peoples it may be reasonably inferred that such a culture-complex has had a common origin and spread through diffusion.

As I have said, investigation into the causes of similarities in the folk-customs, folk-tales and folk-beliefs of different peoples will reveal that these similarities may be variously referred either to community of race or intermixture of races and cultures or to the uniformity and similar working of the human mind on the same level of intellectual development. The task of the folk-lorist becomes still more difficult when he seeks to unravel the tangled origins of the large class of incongruous and inconsistent folk-customs and folk-beliefs surviving from different stages of culture and found among one and the same people. This incongruous combination of divergent elements will be generally found, on analysis, to have arisen from either of three causes.

This combination of inconsistent elements may be due either to the interchange of cultural elements between a comparatively advanced immigrant people and the ruder indigenous population, and the consequent modification or degradation of the original elements, or to the appearance of more than one ethnic wave of immigration into a region originally inhabited by a savage people, or to the survival of the customs and beliefs of an extinct or vanished earlier race in a region subsequently peopled by other races or tribes. Close examination will further reveal that an item of folk-belief or folk-practice may fulfil more or less different functions at different stages of the cultural history of a people.

The function of folk-lore to furnish clues to racial movements in the past makes the science of folk-lore a handmaid to History. But it is what has been termed the 'Pre-history of the human mind' more than the history or pre-history of human migrations which it is the main function of the science of folk-lore to illuminate and elucidate. The chief value of folk-lore lies in the insight that it gives us into the workings of the human mind at a primitive or rather early stage of culture. In the words of the great ethnologist Sir James Frazer, the study of Folk-lore yields "fossils of the human mind" which "illustrate an early stage in the progress of thought from its low beginnings to heights yet unknown".

Although for purposes of analysis and comparative study, different items of a folk-lore will have to be studied separately, our study cannot be complete without viewing them as a whole in their social and economic and psychological setting.

An intensive and comprehensive study of folk-lore will enable us not only to construct a living picture of the folk-life and folk-mind of the past, but will also reveal to us the present folk-life and folk-ways of thinking of the people concerned.

As the influence of popular mind around him—of folk-thought and folk-ideas as expressed in the lore of the folk,—works on the mind of the literary man as well, folk-lore cannot fail to have its influence here and there on his literary productions. And so a study of folk-lore will further prove service-

able in illuminating and elucidating many an obscure or difficult passage in literature.

In his Presidential Address to the Folk-lore Society of London at its annual meeting in 1929, Professor R. M. Dawkins emphasised the value of a knowledge of folk-lore and folk-mentality for a correct appreciation of literature in some cases. Said he, "Just as the literary man has an intellectual milieu formed by the books he has read, so he has a social milieu ; his mind has been formed by both, and he has derived his ideas and ways of looking at things not only from the books he has read but from the people with whom he has grown up and with whom he has talked. And in this latter way most authors, especially older authors living in a less sophisticated age than our own, have come into contact with folk-lore ; and just as the literary critic illustrates his author by a knowledge of his written sources, so there should be a folk-lore critic, able to illustrate him and to clear up hard passages by a knowledge of the folk-lore with which in the world in which he lived the author must have been familiar."⁶

Professor Dawkins cited instances to show how Folk-lore "elucidates many hard passages in literature and on others casts a welcome flood of light". Folk-lore does this by putting "these allusions in the full light of the popular feeling to which they originally appealed and without a knowledge of which they can never be to us more than bloodless ghosts of what they ought to be, empty like the shades of Homer with no blood in them".

In the same address Professor Dawkins also indicated how to more than one Muse,—to Literature, to Art, and Iconography,—our special studies in folk-lore can be made to render good service.

From Folk-lore I shall now pass on to Tradition which has been rightly combined with Folk-lore as a subject of study by some learned societies in India such as the Bihār and Orissa Research Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bombay Historical Society and the Mythic Society of Bangalore.

⁶ *Folk-lore*, Vol. XI (1929), p. 34.

As Folk-lore is pursued primarily for the light it throws on the pre-history of the human mind, and secondarily on the illumination it sheds on Literature, Art, and History, and even Geography, so Tradition is valued for the light, however faint and dim, that it may shed on the pre-history of human events. Tradition, either oral or recorded in ancient books like the Hindu Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, is based, more or less, on actual events of the distant past. It thus becomes a recognised source of history where contemporary authentic records or other sources are wanting. Tradition, though not always a safe guide, may also sometimes point the way to other possible sources such as forgotten archaeological remains. The study and investigation of Tradition, like the study of Folk-lore, is within the reach of every one, wherever he may be placed and whatever may be his position in life.

An attention to Folk-lore and Folk-tradition and the patient pursuit of clues afforded by them will sometimes lead to important results which will more than compensate the student for all his pains.

It may not, I hope, be considered impertinent if I refer to a concrete instance from my own personal experience. At the risk of being egoistic, I may refer to something like an archaeological discovery, on a small scale, to which I was guided by oral tradition and folk-lore.

While engaged in investigations into the history and ethnology of the Mūndās of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, I came across a tradition among the Mūndās of an ancient race of 'giants' named by them as *Asūrs*. They were described to me by my Mūndā informants as having been a *pūṇḍi* or white people of enormous stature, strength and agility, who could in the course of one night walk a hundred miles with giant strides to attend dances at distant villages and walk back to their own homes before dawn. They are said to have lived in huge brick-palaces, to have been engaged most of their time in smelting copper and iron, and, the tradition goes that they even 'ate iron and blew fire from their mouths'. There is a legend⁷ current among the

⁷ See S. C. Roy, *The Mūndās and their Country*, Appendix II, pp. XIX-XXXVII.

Mündās which describes how, pestered by the nuisance of smoke constantly rising up to the skies from the furnaces of these Asūrs, *Sing-bōngā* or God came down to the earth and, assuming the shape of a boy infected with scabs, took service under an old Mündā couple from whom the present Mündā tribe is descended, and by a stratagem got all the Asūr men to burn themselves to death in their own furnaces.

With a view to discover, if possible, what the Mündā tradition regarding the Asūrs really signified, I excavated and explored some of the reputed Asūr sites. Accounts of my modest explorations and finds were published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* in 1916 and 1917. These sites are marked by building-foundations of very large bricks, profusion of iron slag, and grave-yards with memorial stones and sepulchral stone-slabs of huge dimensions each covering a number of cinerary urns. These urns contained mostly copper and bronze ornaments, copper and bronze beads and stone-beads and tiny pottery of various shapes and sizes, some hand-made and some wheel-made, besides a few other interesting artifacts.

The finds of neoliths, copper-implements, copper-ornaments and copper and bronze-vessels, (but very few iron arrow-heads and knives) and cinerary urns containing copper and bronze and neolithic artifacts in these sites pointed to the occurrence in pre-historic Chōtā-Nāgpur of three stages of material culture succeeding or perhaps over-lapping one another —a neolithic culture, a copper culture or rather a chalco-lithic culture and the beginnings of an early iron culture. And tradition supported by other facts suggests the probability of the scattered remnants of these ancient Asūrs having been either routed or absorbed by the ruder hordes of Mündās who immigrated into the plateau a few centuries before the Christian era.

This is an instance of popular tradition serving, in a humble way, as a clue to guide our steps to archæological finds which, in their turn, may serve to throw some light on the pre-history of the country.

Besides its value as a guide to ancient History and Archæology, Folk-tradition may also prove serviceable as a

help to understand the unrecorded social and agrarian history of a people or country. This function of tradition is important not only to the sociologist and historian but to the legislator and the administrator as well. But, unfortunately, this aspect of tradition does not appear to have hitherto attracted the attention it deserves.

Sometime ago my professional duties as a lawyer led me to devote particular attention to the land-tenures and agrarian history of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau. And a study of that history brought home to my mind the importance of a knowledge of the traditions of a people for a proper understanding of their agrarian history and present agrarian situation and an appreciation of their feelings and view-points in the matter. I felt that such a study is essential to enable the administrator and legislator to devise practical solutions of important agrarian problems, and to enable the lawyer, the politician and social worker to afford such help as may be possible to relieve the troubles of the cultivating tenantry and ease the agrarian situation of the country.

Thus, if we turn to the traditions of the Mūndā tribe, we find that some old Mūndās of Chōṭā-Nāgpur still recount the tradition of the ancient migration of the tribe from the Vindhyan valleys and the Kaimur plateau to the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau. Most Mūndā clans still preserve traditions of their later migrations, each clan under its own clan-chief, from the north-western and central parts of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau to their present home in the eastern and southern parts of the present Rānchi District. Numerous traces of their early settlements in the northern and western parts of the plateau, the remains of the characteristic Mūndā burial-grounds, the occurrence of Mūndāri place-names in what is now the Orāon country, and certain other traces unmistakably point to the former Mūndā occupation of those parts of the country and corroborate the Mūndā tradition.

Folk-memory still preserves the traditions of the ancient Mūndā patriarchs under whose guidance and leadership their clansmen cleared the jungles, founded villages and reclaimed lands for cultivation. Tradition tells us how the different

villages founded by different groups of the same clan came to be organised for purposes of mutual support into confederacies known as *Pārhās*, each under the leadership of a patriarch who, in the beginning, combined in himself the functions both of the secular as well as the sacerdotal headman. Mūndā tradition further recounts how, in course of time, an uncommonly gifted and ambitious leader acquired influence and precedence over the other *pārhā*-heads and got himself acknowledged as the chief of chiefs,—their 'Rājā' or King,—and how for centuries this Rājā was nothing more than a 'leader of the people' and not 'proprietor' of their villages and their lands and all that was above or below them,—all of which then and to some extent even perhaps now or at least until comparatively recent times belonged to the village-communes. Mūndā tradition has it that this chosen 'king of the people' was in the beginning maintained by the village-communes, first, by presents in the shape of jungle produce such as tender bamboo-shoots, yams and tubers, and later by annual contributions of a few rupees from each village.

This state of things continued for a few centuries and the descendants of the Rājā whom the village-communes had chosen as their leader, remained content with contributions or 'supplies' for his household from the various village-communes, and military aid in time of need, until in the sixteenth century the long arm of the Moghul Emperor at Delhi reached the Chōtā-Nāgpur plateau and the Rājā was compelled to pay some tribute to the Imperial coffers.

In the beginning this tribute consisted of only two or three diamonds, as that precious stone was then available in river Koel which rises in and flows through the plateau. Later, cash tribute came to be exacted by the Emperors and this necessitated an increase in the annual contributions made by the different village-communes. Presumably because these contributions were not regularly received, the Rājā's tribute to the Delhi Emperor was frequently in arrears, and detachments had to be frequently sent to the country to realise this tribute, and at length Rajā Durjan Sal, who is said to have been the forty-sixth in descent from the first king, was captured and taken to Delhi

and kept for twelve years in duress in the Gwalior Fort. There he had for his fellow-prisoners a few Hindu Rājās of Northern India. Durjan Sal obtained his release on his undertaking to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 6,000. He returned home about the middle of the seventeenth century with new ideas of a king's position, dignity and pomp. He accordingly secured architects and masons from Northern India to build palatial structures for his residence and court, remains of which may still be seen in a village of the name of Doisā or Doesānagar, about forty miles from the town of Ranchi. In time the Chōta-Nāgpur Rājās managed to contract marriage alliances with high-born Rājpūt families, and surrounded themselves with Hindu courtiers, officers and retainers of different castes—Brāhmaṇ, Kāyasth, Rājpūt, Rāutia, etc., from Bihār and the Central Provinces. Other Hindu castes such as Āhīrs, Kūmhārs, Nowās and Ghāsis also followed in their train.

These Hindu courtiers, officers and servants had to be remunerated for their services, and the only means the Rājā then possessed was the fixed contribution or supplies which he used to receive from the different village-communes. And accordingly the Rājā made *jāgir* grants of villages to these alien adventurers. Similar *jāgir* grants also came to be made to junior members of the Rājā's own family. As an account appended to a Bengal Government Resolution of 1880, says, "It is probable that when he gave away villages in this manner, he meant no more than to relinquish his claim to the supplies in favour of the *jāgirdār*".

These supplies or contributions alone could not, however, satisfy the greed of the *jāgirdārs*. And they soon began a ruthless campaign of aggression against the ancient land-system of the country and the proprietary rights of the aboriginal village-communes. The comparatively docile Orāons submitted more readily than the proud and unyielding Mūndās who fought every inch of the ground. The Mūndā country became the scene of constant commotion and frequent disturbances and incessant insurrections.

The most bitter indignation was aroused at the sight of alien middlemen whom the Rājā had let loose over the country

and who spared no species of oppression, force and fraud to reduce the Mūndās from the position of village-proprietors to land-serfs. And some old Mūndāri folk-songs still preserve vivid memories of their sufferings and struggles at this period.

The following folk-song, among others, preserves a vivid memory of the indignation and chagrin felt by the Mūndās of those days at the sight of the hated aliens usurping rights and positions which had until then belonged to the Mūndās themselves. I append a free translation of the song in which the detested aliens of those days were compared to the ravenous crow, the upstart peacock and the ominous owl:—

MŪNDĀ SONG

*Notēm tirubāchi sirmām sāngin,
Kōkōrōdōjānāji Mañākinjānā ;
Notemtirubāchi sirmām sāngin,
Kōkōrōdājānāji Rājānjānā !
Mārādojānāji mārāngenjānā !
Kōkōrōdōjānāji Rājānjānā !
Nātu nātu Kāukō Diguārjānā,
Mārādōjānāji mārāngenjānā !
Disūm disūm kāukō Kōtōārjānā,
Nātu nātu kāukō Diguārjānā !
Nātu Mūndākō tāiurtānā,
Nātu Mūndākō nekelātānā !
Disūm Bhuiñhār tāiurtānā,
Nātu Mūndākō nekelātānā.
Borōtegegākō nekelātānā,
Chirigēgākō tāiurtānā !*

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Look where thou wilt, O, wherever eye gazes,
Up to the sky or below to the earth,
[Men of mean blood wilt thou meet in high places];
Owls pose as lords⁸ now, the owls of low birth !

⁸ Literally, ‘as Mānkis’, that is to say, ‘as heads of groups of villages’.

Struts the vain peacock in glory of plumage,
 Owls pass for lords now, the owls of low birth !
 Look how the crow rules as *Diguār*⁹ each village,
 How proud the peacock stalks o'er the earth !
 Now lords it the crow as *Kotwār*⁹ far and near,
 Now hath each village for *Diguār* a crow !
 Mūndās of villages now tremble with fear,—
 They that were lords of the land until now !
 Bhūinhārs now quake with forebodings drear,
 Mūndās of villages now tremble with fear.
 Sullen resentment reigns over the land,
 The Mūndās chafe and fret,—an angry band.

In many villages these Jāgirdars and their lessees or Thikādārs succeeded in breaking the proprietary rights of the Mūndās and the communal nature of their villages. The contributions or *chāndās* (literally, subscriptions) formerly paid to each village-headman by individual cultivators to make up the total tribute payable for the whole village to the Mahārājā, came in most villages to be collected direct from each cultivator separately on behalf of the Mahārājā or his grantees. And in utter disregard or forgetfulness of the tradition and history of the origin of these payments they came to be called 'rents', and the incidents of 'rents' attaching to ordinary rent-paying tenancies have since then been sought to be applied to their case. And the result has been chronic agrarian discontent among the aborigines of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau for about a century now.

This chronic discontent of the aboriginal population of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau which has vented itself now and again in bloody risings and insurrections has been due more to real than to fancied grievances. Some of these grievances have been since removed to some extent by legislation and executive action. But a few others do not appear to have been probed to the root, and the view-point of the aboriginal tenants has not been sufficiently appreciated. And this makes their minds sore and uneasy and keep them in a state of chronic discontent. One

⁹ *Diguār* and *Kotwār* are the local names for the village messenger and village watchman.

of these sore points is the question of rent. What is called 'rent' in the case of the tenancies of most aboriginal tenants actually originated, as we have seen, in a contribution in the nature of tribute or 'aid' paid by their ancestors to the ancestor of the present superior landlord of the District (the present Mahārājā of Chōtā-Nāgpur) who was originally their chosen leader in war and peace, and not the lord of their lands.

Tradition has kept alive the memory of the days when the Mūndās were peasant-proprietors owning no landlord but only rendering to their chosen leader and king or 'war-lord' services in war and periodical contributions which crystallized in time into a fixed tribute not liable to enhancement except by consent.

The word 'rent' (from Latin '*reddere*', to give back) which literally means 'return' or 'compensation' for the use of lands and tenements belonging to another, is, strictly speaking, rather fallacious and misleading when applied to the payments made by the aboriginal tenants in Chōtā-Nāgpur, whose ancestors founded the villages they inhabit and reclaimed the lands that formed the nucleus of their present tenancies. The use of the term 'rent' in this connection leads to the erroneous supposition that these lands always belonged to the 'land-lord' and were originally 'leased' by him to the aboriginal tenants. The history of a large proportion of these tenancies will demonstrate the error of this supposition, and the fallacy on which it is based. This misleading use of the term 'rent' in such cases, would appear to deserve Bacon's characterization of '*idola fori*' or 'idols of the market-place', that is to say, errors arising from the influence of mere words over our minds. This might also appear to come under the category of Bacon's '*Idola theatri*' or errors arising from received systems of thought,—in this case error arising from the Bengal theory of rent as 'a certain proportion of the produce' which is not really applicable to the facts of these tenancies in Chōtā-Nāgpur. Neither history nor equity would appear to justify the application of that theory of rent to the tenancies of these descendants of the original Mūndā founders of Chōtā-Nāgpur villages, whether such tenancies have been recorded as *Khūñkatti* or as *Bhuñhāri* or merely as *Korkar* or even as *Rājhās*.

The traditions of the people, supported by other evidence, will show that the 'rent' payable by most aboriginal tenants in the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau is neither 'competition rent' as in England, nor 'produce-proportion rent' as in other parts of India, but stands as a class apart which may be termed 'tribute rent'. It was in origin a substitute for the voluntary payments by way of 'aids' or 'tribute' to their chosen leader or chief, subsequently stabilised into customary payments in cash. It is unfortunate that the significance and incidents of this 'rent' have been overlooked or, at any rate, not sufficiently investigated, discussed or appreciated by jurists and economists, legislators and administrators. And administrators, legislators, Revenue Officers and Judges in Chōṭā-Nāgpūr, who are more familiar with the other two forms of rent, have been misled in the past and are often misled to this day by the analogy of the nature of rents in other parts of India. And, as a consequence, the existing law fails in various important respects to take due account of some of the rights persistently claimed and not very long ago enjoyed by the aboriginal tenants. It is the gradual loss of their ancient rights in land, their long and painful but fruitless struggle to save those rights, their repeated risings and the sufferings thus involved that have made a deep impression and left lasting traces on the tribal mind. Their folk-traditions, folk-narratives and folk-songs have kept alive the memory of the times that were.

Indeed it is these struggles that are remembered by tradition more vividly than events of a remoter past. Popular memory of these events of the last century is embodied in folk-stories, folk-songs and folk-sayings of the Mündās, and in respect of the more recent movements in the last quarter of the last century and the first quarter of the present century tradition is replaced by the reminiscences of old Mündās still living.

Their chequered and painful history has given the Mündās much to remember, and they remember it fairly well. As Professor Myres has pointed out, folk-memory is stimulated by "the disturbance of the statical equilibrium of a people and narcotized by the establishment of a quiet *modus vivendi*". No

doubt, in these Mūndā traditions many a detail may have been since added and many an embellishment made by popular imagination. But from what we know from contemporary official records of the events in question, there can be no doubt as to the substantial verity of folk-tradition and reliability of folk-memory in these matters.

If sufficient note had been taken and attention paid by administrators and legislators to these traditions and the feelings that lie behind them and are kept alive by them, much of the existing grievances of the poor aborigines might have been more or less removed and their lot might have been considerably improved.

The agrarian history of Chōṭā-Nāgpur thus furnishes a striking illustration of the administrative utility and importance of the study of the traditions and folk-lore of a people, and brings forcibly home to us one of the disastrous results of neglecting them.¹⁰

¹⁰ This paper contains and elucidates portions of the Author's Presidential addresses to the Folk-lore sections of the Indian Oriental Conference, January, 1931, and of the Bombay Historical Congress, December, 1931.



MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Note on the Puri Plates of Dharmarāja.

By the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, M.A.

The Puri plates of Dharmarāja deciphered in the foregoing pages by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru contain a good deal of interesting information regarding the Śailodbhava dynasty of Orissa. In the first place it provides us with a new date for the kings of this dynasty. Up to this time the only known dates were G.E. 300 in the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅkārāja and the second in a mutilated form in the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja. The Puri plates of Dharmarāja further provide a synchronism of this king with another named Tivaradeva. In editing this inscription Mr. Satyanarayan Rajaguru has not done full justice to the printed literature on the subject of the Śailodbhavas. The text of the new Puri plates alone prove that the date 512 cannot be referred to the Saka era, apart from considerations of palæography. The genealogy provided in the new plates show that Dharmarāja was much later than Mādhavarāja II of the Ganjam plates and therefore as Mādhavarāja II was a contemporary of Śaśāṅkārāja and was living in 619-20 A.D., Dharmarāja cannot be placed earlier than him. Therefore the date 512 in the new plates cannot be referred to the Saka era.

The genealogy begins with a verse about Pulindasena. This verse which is the third verse in the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman and also in the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja is the second verse in the new Puri plates. In the lineage of Pulindasena was born Ranabhita or Aranabhita as Mr. Rajaguru reads and his reading gives better meaning. This verse is the same in the Buguda, Parikud and the new Puri plates. His son was Sainyabhita I and the verse introducing him is the same in all three plates. After Sainyabhita I there is a break, and a verse, to be found in all three plates, states that in the family of Sainyabhita I was born Yaśobhita I or Ayaśobhita I. His son

was Sainyabhīta II. The Buguda plates then introduce another verse with the name of Mādhavavarman (v. 12) which indicates that Sainyabhīta II was a *Biruda* of Mādhavavarman. The genealogy is further continued by the Parikud and Puri plates according to which Yaśobhīta II or Ayaśobhīta II was the son of Sainyabhīta II. Both plates agree in making Madhyamarāja I as the son and successor of Yaśobhīta II. According to the new Puri plates Dharmarāja was the son of Madhyamarāja I. At this point we must go back to the Ganjam plates of the time of Śāśāṅkarāja. These plates were issued by a subordinate chief named Mādhavarāja II who openly acknowledges the suzerainty of Śāśāṅkarāja of Bengal. This Mādhavarāja II was a scion of the Śailodbhava family and was the grandson of Mādhavarāja I and the son of Ayaśobhīta. This inscription does not mention Pulindasena of the Buguda, Parikud and the new Puri plates. The similarity of the names and the definite mention of the Śailodbhava family proves that this Ayaśobhīta must be one of the princes mentioned in the Khurda plates. Two distinct genealogical tables can be prepared from these five charters. The Khurda and the Ganjam plates show that after Sainyabhīta I came Ayaśobhīta I and his son was Mādhavarāja. These two genealogies also prove that Mādhavarāja was also a *Biruda* of Sainyabhīta I, the second genealogical table can be prepared from the Buguda, Parikud and the new Puri plates. In this table there is a gap between Sainyabhīta I and Yaśobhīta and Yaśobhīta II who was called Ayaśobhīta I in my article on the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja. Though the identification is very tempting it is impossible to place the grandson of Mādhavarāja II in the Gupta Year 512, i.e. 831-2 A.D. Sainyabhīta II must therefore be known as Mādhavarāja III and Ayaśobhīta II as Ayaśobhīta III. There is further reason to assign the date 512 in the new Puri plates to the Gupta era. Dharmarāja has an elder brother named Mādhava or Mādhavarāja III. From him he conquered the kingdom with the help of another king named Tivaradeva in a battle at Phasika.¹ This strīvara has been rightly identified

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 266.

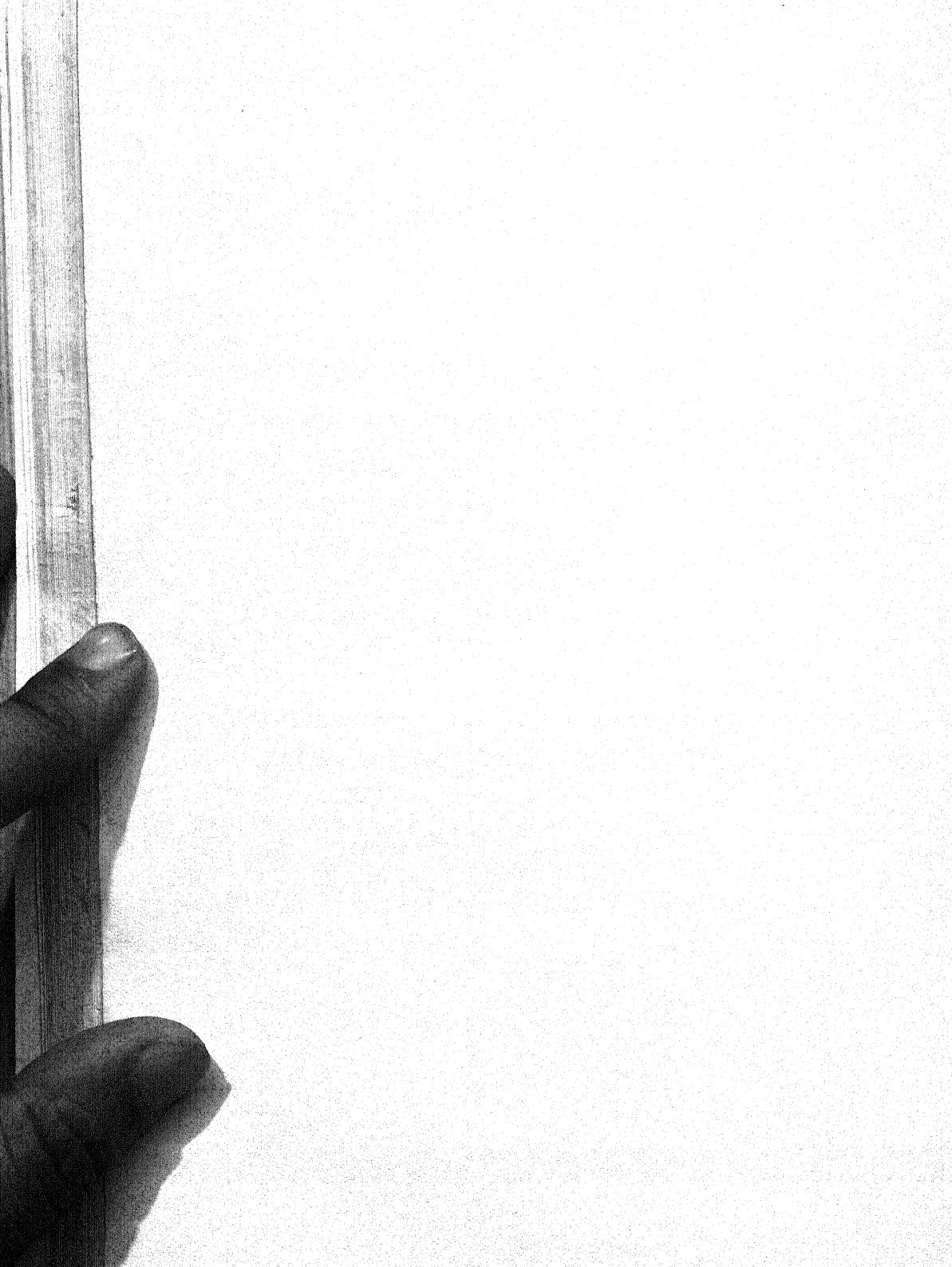
by Mr. Rajaguru with Mahāśivagupta-strīvara, the brother of Chandragupta and the uncle of Harsagupta of the Soma-vāṁśī dynasty of Kosala. Most probably Chandragupta is the same king of that name who is mentioned as the contemporary of the Rāṣtrakūṭa king, Govinda III, in the Ganjam plates of his son Amoghavarṣa in the Sanjan plates of his son Amoghavarṣa I.¹ Therefore Dharmarāja cannot belong to the end of the 6th century A.D. and consequently the date 512 cannot be referred to the Śaka era.

At my request Mr. Satyanarayan Rajaguru has sent me a rubbing of the last plate which bears the date and I read the date in the last line as Samvat—10 Vaiśākha Śudi. There is no room in the last line, after the final *t* of Samvat and the *Vai* of Vaiśākha for a date in three letters. There is just room enough for the unit and the ten at this place.

Dharmarāja is known from another copperplate which is not the same as this one. It was noted by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, that it is dated Samvat 800 and mentions the battle of Phasika and Tivaradeva.²

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 266.

² Annual report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, Southern Circle, Madras, for the year 1921, pp. 15 (No. 3) and 93.



II.—The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja— V.S. 800.

By the late Professor R. D. Banerji, M.A.

I came to learn of the existence of this important inscription from Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc., Senior Archaeological scholar of the Mayurbhanja State in May or June, 1929. Subsequently, at my request, Mr. Acharya supplied me with the pencil rubbings from which the inscription is edited below. I have not been able to elicit the name of the owner of these plates and their present locality from Mr. Acharya.

The plates are three in number of which the first and the third appear to be inscribed on one side only while the second is inscribed on both sides. The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it supplies a date for the first group of Bhañja kings represented by Śilabhañja, his son Śatrubhañja and his son Rañabhañja I. Further it supplies a longer genealogy of the kings of this group than that known from any other charter.

The inscription opens with a verse about the praise of Śiva. The opening verse begins *Jayati Kusumavanya-prāṇa-vikṣobhadakṣam* which is also to be found in the charters of the descendants of Rañabhañja I.¹ The genealogy given is also fragmentary. It begins with an unknown king named Maṅgalarāja. The donor, Śatrubhañja was the son of Śilabhañja, the grandson of Pallagambhira and the great-grandson of Yathāsukha, and belonged to the spotless family of the Bhañjas. The object of the charter was the grant of the village of Kontamulla to two Brāhmaṇas named Bhaṭṭa Viśnusvāmi and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇasvāmi. The village granted was situated in the *Viṣaya* of *Salvadda*. The most important part is the date, which is given in numerical symbols in the last line :

Samvat 8, 100 Kārttika śudi 8.

The symbol used for 8 is a combination of *tha* and *Da* and consequently there was a great temptation to read it as 20, but

¹ See *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 276.

the symbol for 100, which follows it is unmistakable. Therefore it is not possible to read the first numeral as being ancient above 9 and the same numeral has been used to denote the date of the *Pakṣa*, i.e. the *tithi*. I propose to read this numerical symbol as 8. Another inscription bearing the same date was discovered by the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, but no facsimile of this inscription has been published as yet. I cannot identify any of these localities mentioned in this inscription. The *Dūtaka* of this grant was the illustrious Kṛtavarman, who was the master of the five *Karaṇas* (*Pañcha-Karaṇ-ādhikṛta*) and was also a Mahāśāmanta. It was composed by the *Sāndhi-vigrahika* Buddhadatta and evidently incised by the same person. I edit this important record from the pencil rubbing given to me by Mr. Paramananda Acharya.

TEXT

First Plate (Second Side).

1. Jayati kusuma-vāṇa-prāṇa-vikṣobha-daksham sva-kirāṇa-pari
2. veṣy-orjijita jīrṇnendra-lekham tr̄ (tri) bhuvana-bhu-van-āntar-dyota-bhāsva t-pra-
3. dīpam kanaka-nikāṣa-tāṁvraṁ bibhur-netram Harasya
II Śeṣ-āher-iva yaḥ
4. phaṇā pravilasat-yad-bhāsurendra-tviṣaḥ praleya-āchala-śringa-ko
5. tyā iva tvayanti yat-pronnetā(h) nrīttatopa-vighattīta
iva
6. bhuja rājanti yeṣām-havām-ste rvv-āgha vighaṭinā
surat-svarito
7. yor-mmayah¹ pāntu vah I Asti jaya-śrī-nilaya-prakāta-guṇa grasta-sarvva-
8. ripu-garvva-Śrimān-Māngalarājo rājā-nirvvṛta-kalikal-maṣaḥ Bhañj-āmala-kula-
9. tilakah Śrī-Yathāsukhadevasya pranaptā Śrī-Pallagam-bhiradevasya pautraḥ

¹ Read *sura-sarit to y-ormmayah*.

Second Plate (First Side).

10. Śrī Śilabhañjadevāsyā sūtaḥ Paramamāheśvaro mātā-pitr-
11. pādānudhyātaḥ Śrī Śatrubhañjadevaḥ kuśalī II Salvadda vi
12. śaye rājā-rājānaka-rājaputra-viṣayapati-mahāsāman-ta-
13. Śrī-sāmanta-maha (ā) sāmanta-yathākālādhyāsinah vyavahāriṇāḥ sa-
14. karaṇān-anyāṁś-cha Brāhmaṇa-pura(ro)g-ādi janapadam nivā
15. si-janapadānś-cha yath-ārham pūjayati bodhayaty-ājñāpayā
16. ti cha viditam-astu bhavatām-etad-viṣaya-sambaddha-Kontamullo
17. grāmo-yam chatuh simn-āghāṭa-paripālitenti Vāsi (si)stha-go
18. trābhyaṁ Bhaṭṭa-Viṣṇuśvāmi-bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇasvāmi bhyām mātā-

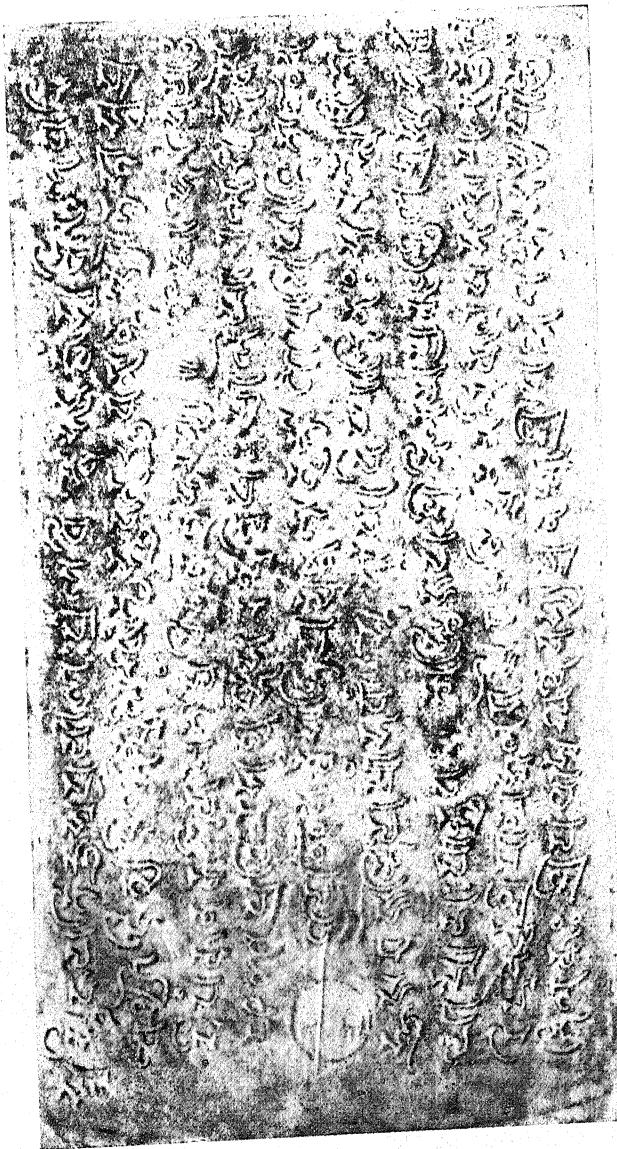
Second Plate (Second Side).

19. pittror-ātmanaś-cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhaye śa (sa) lila-dhārā-purāḥsa-
20. reṇ-ākaratvena pratipādite-smabhiḥ yato-nayor-āchandrā
21. rkam samupabhujasva na kaiś-chit paripanthinā bhavitavyam -i
22. ti 11 Uktam-cha dharma-sāstre Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagarādi
23. bhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi (s) tasya tasya tadā phalam 11
24. Mā bhūd-aphala śāṅkā vah paradatt-eti pārthivāḥ svā-dāna t -phala
25. m-ānantyam para-datt-ānupālana 11 Sva-dattam para-dattam-vā yo
26. hareta vasundharām sa viṣṭhāyām krmir -bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha
27. pachyate 11 Iti kamala-dal-āmvu-vindu-lolām śriyam-anu

Third Plate (First Side).

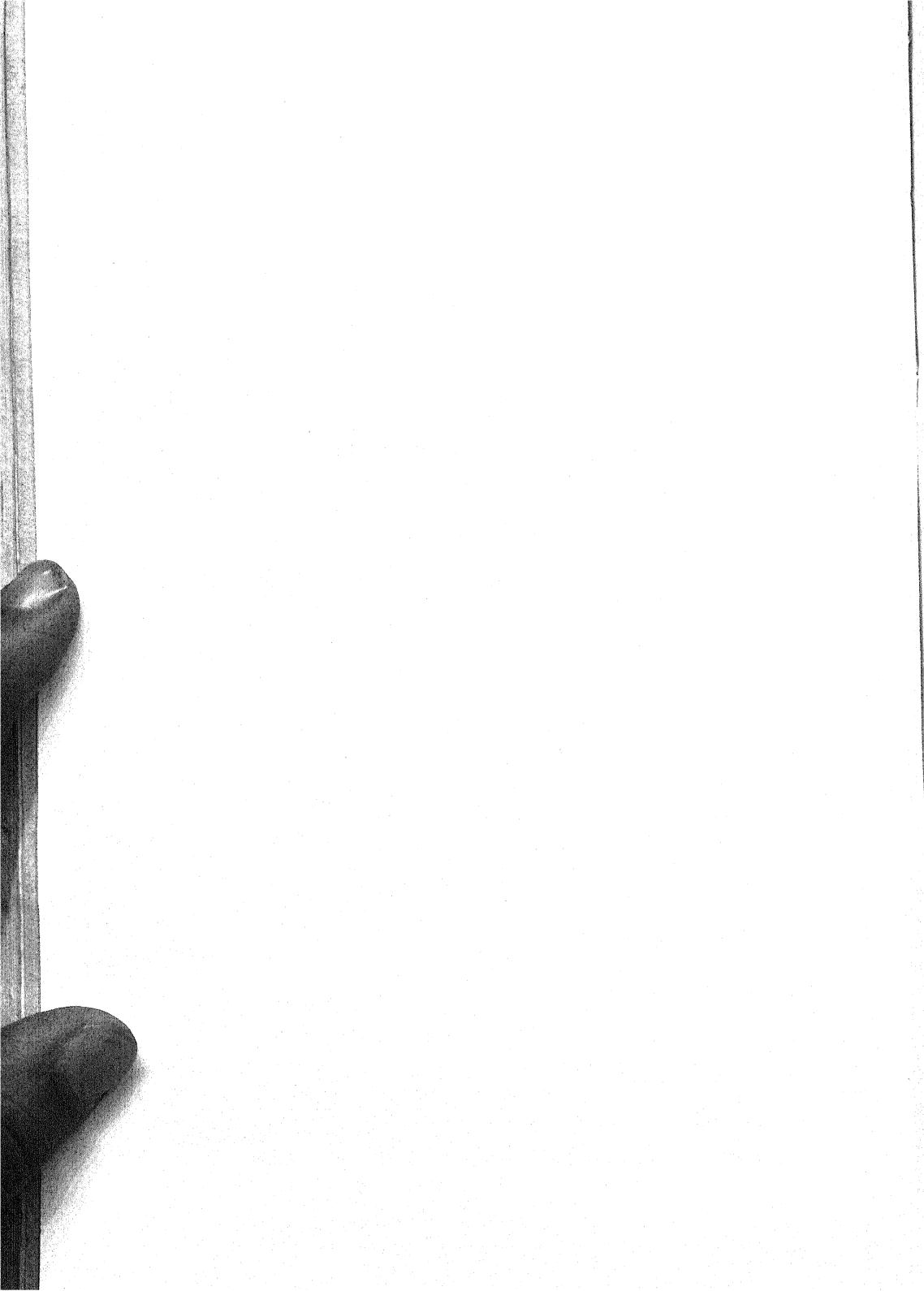
28. chintya manusya-jivitam-cha sakalam-idam-udāhṛ-tamhi budhvā na hi
29. puruṣaiḥ pari(ra)-kirttayo vilopyā(h) 11 Saṣṭim varṣasahasrāṇi sva
30. rge modati bhūmidah Ākṣeptāś-ch-ānumantā cha tāny eva narakam vṛta
31. jet 11 Pañcha-karaṇ-āddhi (dhi) kṛta-Mahāsāmantadūtako-tra Śri-Kṛitavarmm-a (ā)
32. deśā-(t)-likhi ta nī-cha Sāndhivigrahika-Vuddha-dattena Utkirṇam
- ¹ 33. Śri-Sāmanta-Dhavalākena anuṣṭhitam Śeṣādityanate
34. Samvat 8,100, Kārttika Śudi 8.

¹ Left out in Mr. Banerji's MS.



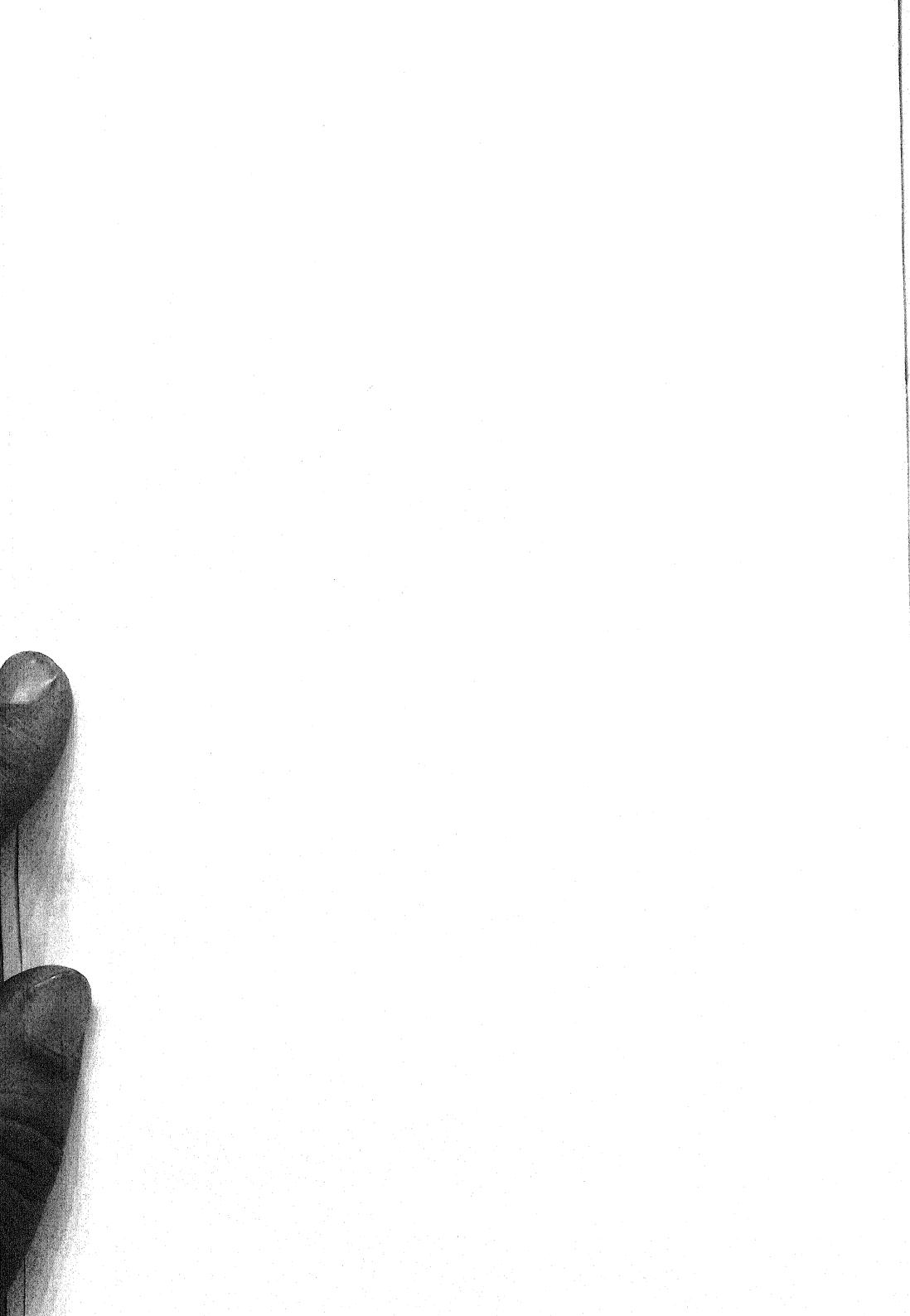
The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja.

I Plate II side.



The Tekkali Plates of Sátrubhañja.
II Plate I side.



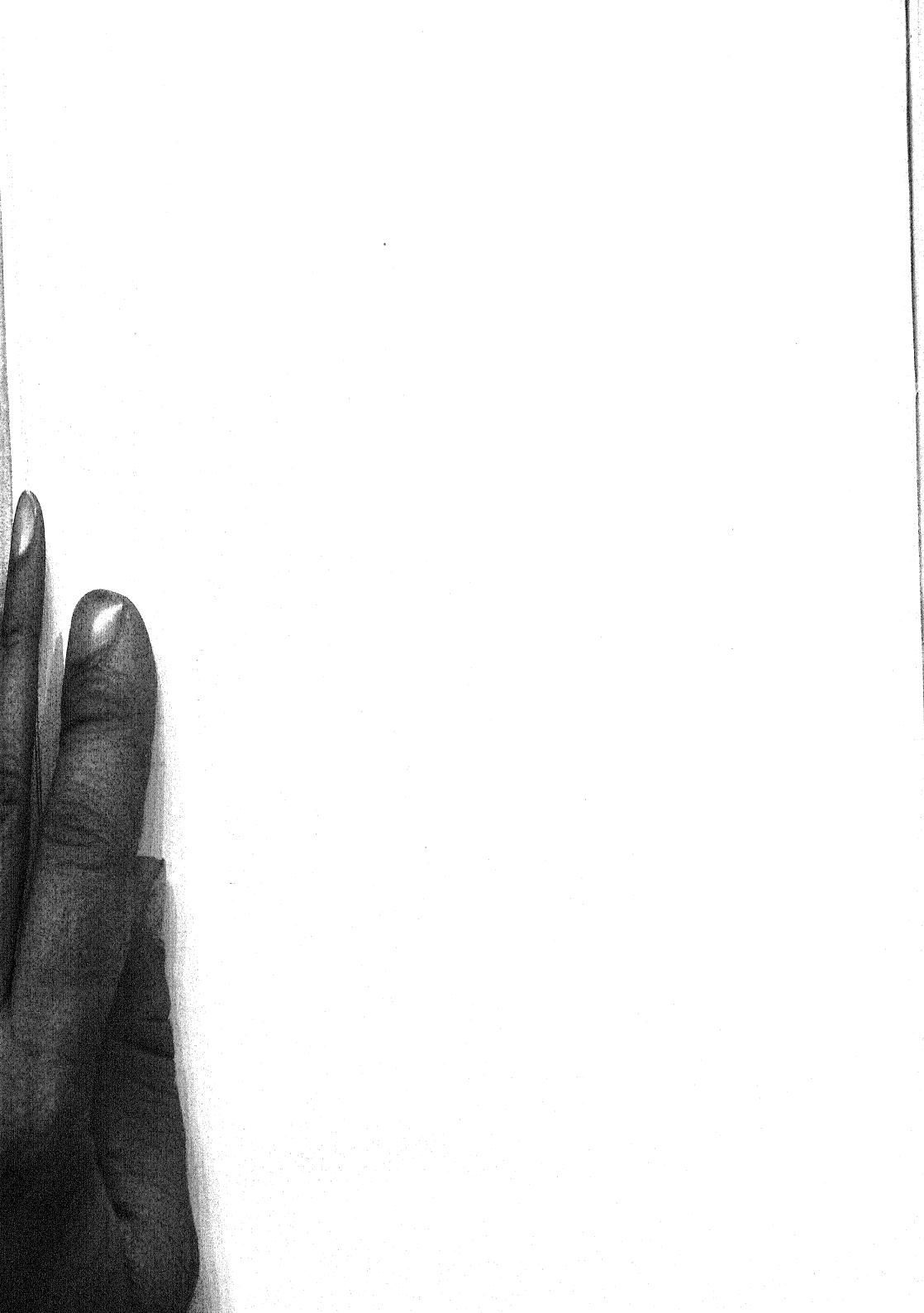


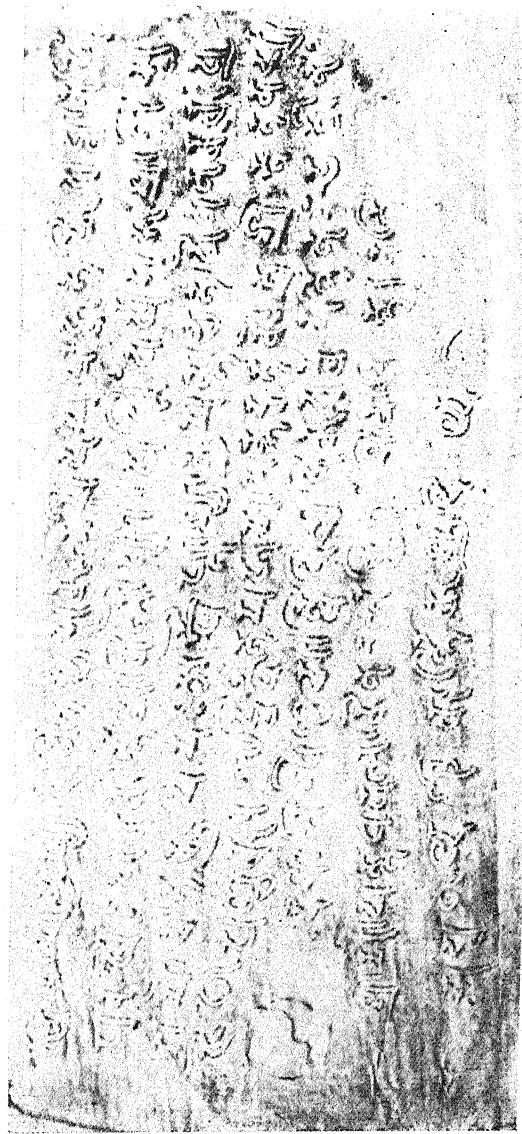
J. R. O. R. S. 1932.

The Teltali Plates of Śatrubhañja.

II Plate II side.







The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhāṇja,
III Plate I side.

J. R. O. R. S. 1932.

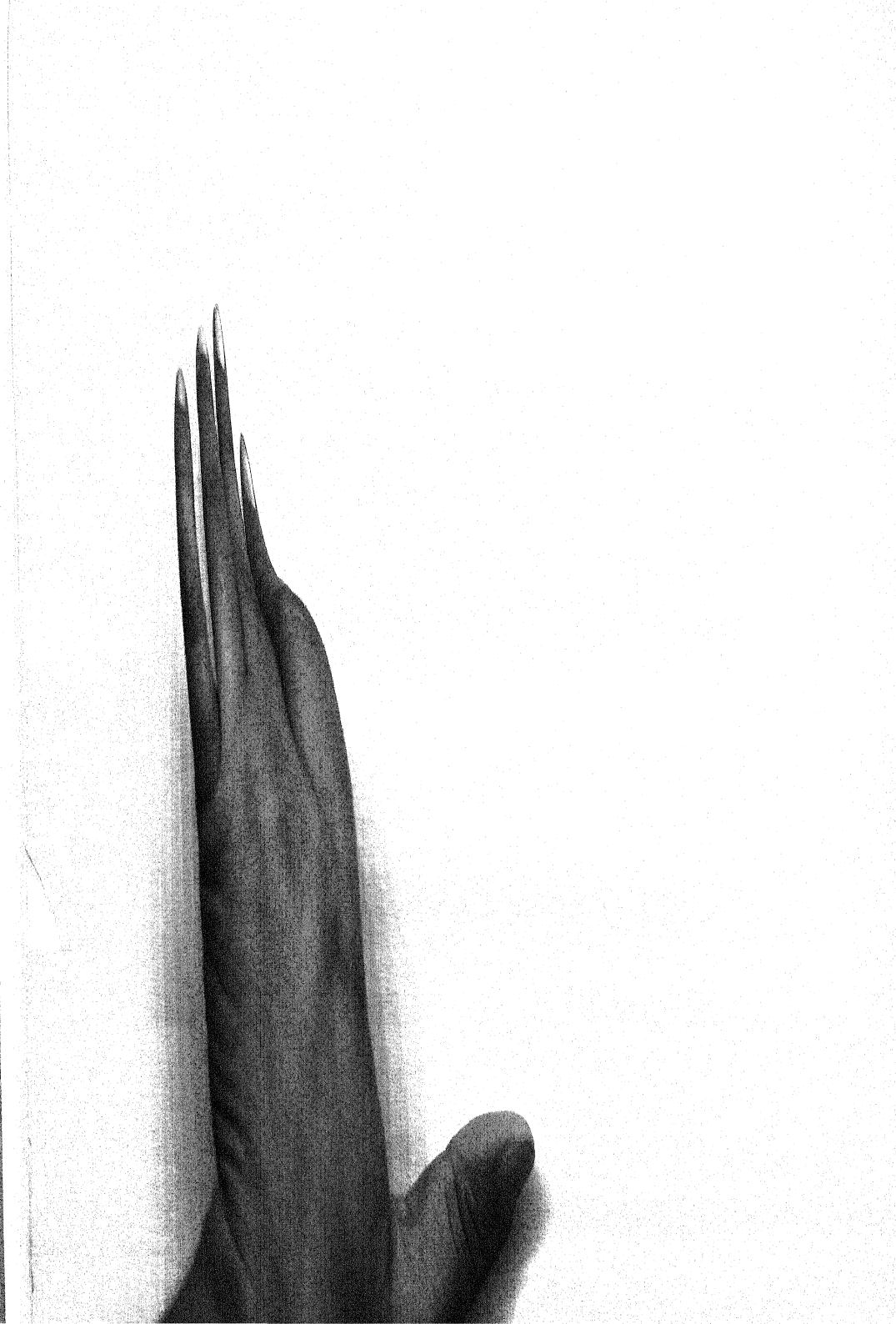


III.—‘Danta,’ a weapon.

In this volume of the Journal (p. 34) I expressed the opinion that *danta-koti* in the last verse of the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* meant a knife or a similar weapon in the double import when referring to Chandra Gupta II and his rescue of Dhruvā Devi. Professor Janārdana Miśra has traced out that *danta* was a regular weapon according to the *Dhyānas* and *Śilpaśāstras*. I would notice below the sculptural evidence on the point.

Gopinatha Rao in his *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, part 1, at p. 56 ff., has summarised the texts on Gaṇapati in his various aspects. *Danta*, *aṅkuṣa*, and *pāṣa* are the weapons he holds in many forms. The representation of *danta* is to be found on plates X [*danta* in the front right hand, p. 63], XI, fig. 1 [A.D. 1446] holding *sūla*, *paraśu*, *danta* and *pāṣa* as weapons (p. 64), XII, XIV [bronzes, p. 65], and XV [bronze, p. 66, 12th or 13th century]. It is always held in the first right hand. In the stone figure on plate X (1) and the bronze figure on plate XV (facing p. 58), it is a piercing weapon, straight and pointed, with a knob-handle with projections for the grip. In figure 2 on plate X and figure 2 on plate XV (ivories) the *danta* is a hooked, sharp-pointed weapon, with a knob-handle; it has the shape of a boar’s tusk, but is more pointed. It is a small stabbing weapon; on plate XIII the offensive point-portion is fully covered in the grip. It was thus a short stab-instrument, with a round point, straight or curved.

K. P. J.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Publications of the Hindustānī Academy, U.P.,
Allahabad.

This Society, formed under the ægis of the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, has published texts, original contributions, and translations. All the publications are in Hindi. I would like to draw the attention of scholars to some of its important published works.

1. *Ghāgh aur Bhaddarī*, edited with translation in modern Hindi, by Pandit Ramanareśa Tripāthi. The verses of the two authors Ghāgh and Bhaddarī on agriculture and kindred matters, e.g. the monsoon, embody the experience of ages in popular memorial verses. They are laboriously collected and very ably edited by Mr. Tripāthi. The editor has traced the home and descendants of Ghāgh, near Kanauj (Sarāy Ghāgh). Ghāgh was a Kanaujiyā Brahmin (Dube) and a contemporary of Akbar. Bhaddarī belonged to Rajputana; his exact home is not known. Ghāgh was an acute observer. 323 verses of his are published and 81 of Bhaddarī.

2. *Kavi-rahasya* : This is an excellent book, by Dr. Ganganath Jha. This is a manual of 105 pages, bringing into Hindi practically all the theories of Rājaśekhara, with a wealth of illustrations both from Sanskrit and Hindi, exhibiting an encyclopædic knowledge and at the same time a poetic temperament. The current Maithila Kāvya literature, commencing from the 16th century, has a sweetness of its own, and from this the author has enriched his treatise with apt quotations. It is practically an original treatise.

3. *Arab aur Bhārata ke sambandha* ['Intercourse between Arabia and India'] is a translation, in 330 pages of an original work in Urdu by a scholar (*Syed Sulaimān Nadbi*) who is regarded as the most learned Arabic scholar living in India. Maulānā Nadbi has collected in his Urdu lectures, delivered before the Academy, all the references to India and her civilization in Arab authors. He has offered some original views

on the identification of Arabic descriptions of Indian matters. His work is purely an Eastern production ; the author has not repeated what European scholars have said on the subject.

4. Social and Economic Condition of Mediæval India : A lecture on this subject by Mr. A. A. Yusuf Ali, has been rendered in Hindi (81 pages) and published by Dr. Tara Chand, Secretary to the Academy, who is the real life-force of this institution. Mr. Yusuf Ali has selected some dramas--the *Nāgānanda*, *Priya-darśikā*, *Ratnāvalī*, and *Karpūramañjari*--and the prose works of Bāna, the Ajantā paintings, Yuan Chwang, Alberūni, Elliot's History, and a few epigraphs, along with some minor works, as his materials. There is very little about economic conditions, but there is a lot about polite society, in the address. Justice is still to be done to the subject. Mr. Yusuf Ali has pointed out the right sources. The style of the original author is entertaining.

5. Madhya-kālina Bhāratīya sāṁskṛiti, by MM. Gauri Śāṅkara Hirāchand Ojhā, is a work on the civilization of Mediæval India in 194 pages, with illustrations on sculpture and architecture. It is a systematic treatise embodying a wide survey. Its style is real Hindi, as opposed to the transliterated style which prevails in Hindi where graduates make an artificial literal translation of technical English terms. Its subject-matter has received an original and thoughtful treatment. Practically no aspect of national life is left out ; the author's knowledge of his sources is first-hand.

6. Velī Krisana-Rukamañi-rī, by Prathirāja Rāthaur, translated in M. Hindi prose by Maharajah Jagmangal Singh, with a commentary ; 904 pages. It is a useful text, with exhaustive notes, for the study of the archaic language of Dingal poetry which has been current in Rajputana for the last thousand years. The Rajput nobleman has laid philological students under an obligation by offering his commentary. It is still a living language in Rajputana, though limited to a small circle, while to the outsider it is difficult and strange.

The above notice will show the useful work being done, for which Dr. Tara Chand and the Academy are to be congratulated. [I have omitted works of minor importance.]

The Academy publishes also a Journal called *Hindustānī* where articles and studies on various literary and scientific subjects appear.

7. **Rock-cut Temples around Bombay**, by Mr. Kanhaiya lal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B., 'Art Critic,' "the Bombay Chronicle," published by Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay. Pocket edition size, 160 pp. (5"×7"), 54 illustrations and 5 plans. Price, Rs. 3.

The author thinks that no one has as yet attempted the interpretation of Indian Art and Architecture. 'In fact, archaeological speculations and iconographic tabulations that constitute the bulk of the current literary discussions and expositions of Indian art have rendered the study and interpretation of painting, sculpture and architecture, practically superficial and insignificant, if not superfluous.' After reading this verdict one is tempted to ask 'Has this author read the books of Mr. Havell?' In the book there are vague expressions and vaguer photographs, which convey little of the art that moves the author's enthusiasm. There are more quotations than exposition. Words are so spelt that at times it is difficult to identify them, e.g. Kal Bhairav (p. 53). Opinions like '*The Indian sculptor touches with unfailing reverence... the "apsara"*' abound in the booklet. Whatever is new in the book is unacceptable.

8. **Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1930**, published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands and with the support of the Imperial Government of India (148 pp., large size, 12"×9" with 6 plates), Leyden, 1932 (Kern Institute, Leyden).

This is the fifth issue of this Annual Bibliography issued by Dr. Vogel and a board of editors from the Kern Institute. The bibliography is arranged under different subject-headings and is as full as possible. It surveys publications in all European languages and in Hindi and Bengali. It publishes also a few illustrations of rare and unpublished art pieces. Its illustrations are very well executed. This number gives some hitherto unpublished sculptures of Nāgārjunikondā and Sittanavāsal paintings. This last branch of work, though meritorious,

is to be avoided, as it changes the character of the publication from a digest to a journal. A bibliography like this supplies a standin gneed, yearly publications having grown to an unwieldy extent. It deserves the support of scholars. Scholars are invited to send in copies of their contributions.

9. *The Mahābhārata Text, Fasc. 6*, edited by Dr. V. S. Sukhthankar, Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. This part closes the *Ādi Parvan*. It keeps up the high standard which Dr. Sukhthankar set for it when he took over the editorial charge. The illustrations, though fairly good, are really not wanted, and the money might better be spent on the publication of the text itself which is a tremendous charge.

10. *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, 2nd edition, 977 pp., $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ', Index, pp. 987 to 1011, with 4 maps and 58 plates, by the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., published by Mr. R. Chatterji, 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, 1931. Price Rs. 25.

The author before his death had revised his work thoroughly; the present edition is the result of that revision. It is really the history of British India from the foundation of Calcutta up to the extinction of the East India Company, with an introduction (pp. 17-43) on the struggle of different Christian powers in India. Any text-book on recent or contemporary history will always be a subject of attack and defence. Capt. Cunningham who was on the General Staff in the Sikh War wrote a History of the Sikhs and dealt with the War. On a copy of his first edition which I possess there are bitter remarks in pencil by another officer who claims to derive his knowledge from some officers who had figured in the War and from his own experience. The late Mr. Govind Das of Benares once illustrated to me what history was [in his opinion] by calling two persons who had witnessed a quarrel and the consequential fight, to recapitulate the story; the witnesses who were quite disinterested gave differing versions as to the origin and the initial stage of the fight. I told my friend that the real historical part was the fact of the fight and its result. Major Basu selected a subject like the quarrel-story and the fight-problem of my late friend. There will be room for differing

versions, e.g. at p. 353 where Mill and Wilson differ on the Tanjore succession, though as to the result there cannot be much doubt on any event. Major Basu, however, nowhere allows a controversial point to pass undiscussed and faces his problems with confidence.

The book is a store-house of digested facts and is a monument of labour. It will always be found useful on its period, and is not likely to be superseded for its material and clearness. The book at the same time is an album of historical portraits which have been collected and selected with care and insight. The picture of Śivājī, from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is the finest. The publisher's work is of a standard rarely reached before in India.

11. Jainism in North India, 800 B.C. to A.D. 520, by Chiman Lal J. Shah, M.A., published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. (1932), 262 pp., 11" x 7½", with 26 plates and two maps. Price, Rs. 28-14.

This work forms No. 6 of the series of the Indian Historical Research Institute started by the Rev. Father Heras. The book is by a Jaina gentleman who dates the history of Jainism from 800 B.C. and closes his period of study with the Council of Valabhi (526 A.D.). Territorially it is limited to Āryāvarta. The author in making his compilation has studied his authorities. But as a Jaina he has not added to our knowledge of the traditional lore of his religion which is more easily available to him than to outside scholars. We are not enlightened much on the doctrinal side of the religion from living sources. The apsaras figures on railing pillars opposite p. 256 are wrongly described as 'human figures'. No history of Jainism, to justify that title, should be without an account of the apostolic successions and a consideration of their chronology. Both of these the volume before us lacks. The author has directed his attention to archæological results, which, of course, are useful to the members of his community who have little knowledge of those matters, buried as they are in technical journals. Reference to 'Rājarshi' Devagupta in Jaina literature (p. 213) is an echo of the popular title of Chandragupta II which we find at Sanchi inscribed in his lifetime.

12. *The Pallava Genealogy*, by Rev. H. Heras, S.J.,
Bombay, Indian Historical Research Institute, 1931.

This is No. 7 of the Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Father Heras has, on the basis of the Pallava inscriptions, attempted to unify the Pallava pedigrees appearing in the inscriptions in a bewildering variety. He has prepared a long chart where he has arranged the names under 45 columns headed by 45 inscriptions individually, and has discussed his identifications in 27 pages (small size). He has prepared a genealogy of 24 descendants from Kālabhartṛi to Vijaya Nṛipatūṅga-varman (chart No. 2). It must be admitted at once that this is a great improvement on all previous attempts, though we have not yet reached the final solution.

Regarding the early kings, there should not be much difficulty, as we have for almost every second generation a contemporary record, and in almost every one of them four previous generations are enumerated as a system. I have constructed the chronology and genealogy of the first seven Pallava rulers in my '*History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*' (under publication), and I have arrived at the same conclusion as Father Heras on the point that the Pallava seat was at first in Andhra-deśa. This capital was *Daśanapura* which might have been the same as the *Dantapura* of the Buddhist books. Father Heras has also drawn the right conclusion that the Pallavas reigned only in one line. I, however, disagree with the author on the order and existence of three early ancestors of the Pallavas whom Father Heras has given as

1. Kālabhartṛi (=Bappa).
2. Chūta Pallava (=Drona).
3. Virakūrcha (=Āsvatthāman).

His No. 4 and 5 are

4. Skandaśishya (=Skandavarman).
5. Śivaskandavarman (of E.I., i., p. 1).

Thus he places three names of rulers between Bappa and Śivaskandavarman. But it is certain that 'Bappa' was the immediate predecessor of Śivaskanda. This is proved by the E.I., i., p. 1, which is the second earliest inscription of the family.

The donees of Śivaskandavarman are the same to whom Mahārāja 'Bappa' had given the estate (p. 8) and whose names are fully set out. 'By us also the formerly-given.....has been granted to the above-mentioned Brāhmans, chief among whom is Ajisamaja.....' The same donees could not have been alive if Śivaskanda was the fifth from Bappa, as Rev. Heras would make him. The two names of *Drona* and *Aśvatthāman* are the names of the early ancestors of the Pallavas who were Bhāradvāja Brahmins. *Drona* and *Aśvatthāman* are the heroes of the Mahābhārata, and not third century kings. They were Bhāradvājas and as such early ancestors of the Pallavas. There is no room between Bappa and Śivaskanda for a *Skandasishya-Skandavarman*. The *Skandasishya* of the Rayakoṭa inscription is identical with Śiva *Skanda* where Śiva is only honorific as in the Chutu inscriptions. The Rayakota plate does not say that *Skandasishya* was the son of *Aśvatthāman*. He is only described as the son of a Nāga lady. The *Skandasishya* of the S.I.I., ii. 501, is Skandavarman II, which is clear from the names of his son and grandson; he is really identical with Vijaya Skandavarman. These three early names therefore have to go out of the list. I regard *Vira Kürcha* as the name of 'Bappa' (which means 'father'). Probably *Kürcha* ('twigs') is a translation of 'Pallava' which (latter) is found as early as the first inscription of Śiva Skandavarman (E. I., VI., 84). The name *Vira* is repeated in that of the son of Śiva *Skanda* (Viravarman), in accordance with the early custom. The unpublished *Chūrā* and *Guntur* plates, taken by Father Heras as two documents, are really one and the same, a fact which I have verified and ascertained from the Government of India Epigraphist.¹ The appearance of the word *Vishṇu* with the names has nothing to do with their religion which was Śaivism; it is a repetition of the name of the *Vishṇu vṛiddha* ('*Vishṇu* the elder') who was one of the early Bhāradvājas.

K. P. J.

¹ I have to thank Mr. Dikshit for his courtesy in the matter.

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